

The Hispanic American Historical Review

Vol. IX

November, 1929

No. 4

THE EAST FLORIDA REVOLUTION OF 1812-1814

Along the northern and eastern frontiers of Spanish North America, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, occurred a series of revolutionary outbreaks which have been conventionally classed with the expansionist movement of the people of the United States in the same period. While it cannot be denied that expansionist sentiment in the United States played an important part in these episodes, it is perhaps too often forgotten that such occurrences were incidents in the Spanish-American wars of independence. The East Florida Revolution of 1812-1814 well illustrates the play of forces and the conditions making for the disintegration of the northern provinces of the Spanish empire—the half-reluctant and generally veiled sanction by the United States government of movements which would expand its boundaries; the restless activities of land- and glory-seeking American frontiersmen; and the decline of Spanish colonial administration along the borders of New Spain.

The East Florida affair must, however, be regarded as merely an incident in the frontier revolts of the period. It was, as will be shown, an outgrowth of the West Florida Revolution of 1810-1811; it was contemporaneous with the Gutiérrez-Magee expedition into Texas in 1812-1813; and it was to be followed in rapid succession by many other enterprises of a like nature, most of them inspired, planned, and equipped in the United States, such as the Mexican revolt led by Mina in 1816-1817, the McGregor-Aury episode at Amelia Island in 1817-

1818 (most notable in this respect, because it led directly to the final occupation of Florida by United States forces), and the Fredonian Republic and James Long at Nacogdoches in Texas in 1819-1827. It was the seizure of the easternmost extremity of the northern Spanish-American frontier. A discussion of it, therefore, must take into account, on the one hand, the Spanish-American Revolution, and on the other, the expansive tendency of the people of the United States.

For a number of reasons the actions of George Mathews and John H. McIntosh in the years 1811-1813 deserve more detailed notice in American history. First, their accomplishments reflect the general weakness and decline of Spanish frontier defense, due to revolutionary movements in Europe, Mexico, and northern South America. Second, the East Florida Revolution incidentally established a precedent for the events which later led to the final acquisition of all of Florida. Third, it reflects small credit on either the political morality or experience of President James Madison, and, in a lesser degree, on his secretaries of state, Robert Smith and James Monroe. Fourth, it was one of the very few instances when a filibustering effort was launched, even indirectly, by the federal government. Finally, it shows the frontiersman's contempt for the niceties of international convention, and his readiness to twist political symbols to his own advantage.

The East Florida Revolution of 1812-1814 centered in the northeast corner of the old Spanish province of East Florida, by which was meant the peninsula proper and a strip of gulf coast extending westward to the Appalachicola River. The revolution, or such part of it as can strictly be called a Floridian product, affected only a narrow strip of settled territory along the east coast of Florida, about sixty miles long by perhaps fifteen or twenty in width, most of it enclosed in a long peninsula between the St. Johns River and the sea; and the portion to the north of that peninsula, low and swampy, and cut by the estuaries of the St. Johns, Nassau, and St. Marys

rivers into many small islands; but none the less a region of considerable fertility and very desirable, especially that portion northward from St. Augustine, the only town of any importance in the region, to the point where the St. Johns bends eastward toward the sea at the site of the present city of Jacksonville.

East Florida, at the period under discussion, had a heterogeneous population. Aside from the numerous English-speaking settlers, mostly from the United States and estimated at two-thirds of the total population in 1817,¹ there was a mixed collection of Spaniards, Frenchmen, Germans, half-breeds, Indians, and fugitive slaves. Most of the inhabitants seem to have been fairly content under the mild Spanish rule, and to have been peacefully engaged in agriculture or lumbering, although smuggling was becoming very profitable, due to the evasion of the embargo and non-intercourse acts of the United States. West of this narrow strip of settled country was the region occupied by the Alachua Indian tribe, who were barred from much of the coast land by the St. Johns River as a boundary of white settlement. It must be borne in mind that East Florida, so far as this discussion is concerned, consisted of little more than this narrow zone between the St. Johns and the sea and the coastwise strip north from the St. Johns to the St. Marys; for the rest of the peninsula, south from St. Augustine and west of the St. Johns, was inhabited only by white hunters and outlaws, Indians and negroes, save for a few scattered plantations along the east coast and at Tampa Bay on the west coast.²

Most accounts agree that the country was fairly prosperous under Spanish control. Especially was this true of the somewhat higher plain around St. Augustine, which is represented as being in a state of high cultivation.³ Cattle-raising

¹ Niles' "*Weekly Register*", XII. 189, quoting *National Intelligencer*.

² *Ibid.*

³ Testimony of George J. F. Clarke, a document in the Case of *United States v. Ferreira*, printed in *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 55, 36th cong., 1st sess. (1859-1860),

was the chief pursuit along the St. Johns, and lumbering almost as important. Many negroes were employed in this part of the province, particularly in the shipping and lumbering business at Fernandina,⁴ which was the only town of consequence north of St. Augustine.

Fernandina, a town of about six hundred inhabitants,⁵ and the scene of the dramatic beginnings of the East Florida Revolution, stood on the outer end of a strip of dry land on the shore of Amelia Island, at the mouth of the St. Marys River and across Cumberland Sound from the State of Georgia.⁶ It had a large commerce in proportion to its size, due to the fact that it was a center of illicit trade in cotton between the United States and Great Britain, in defiance of the embargo and non-intercourse acts, preceding the War of 1812.⁷ It also seems to have been a center for smuggling in general, and became more so in later years, as the Spanish control grew weaker, when semi-legitimate Spanish-American privateers, many of them fitted out in United States ports, made Amelia Harbor a rendezvous.⁸ The town had been occupied for several years as a Spanish post, but the defenses were neglected, and it was not at all formidable to any large attacking force.⁹ This town saw the beginnings of two distinct attempts to revolutionize Spanish Florida, and it was here that the opening events took place in the Revolution of 1812.

The seizure of Amelia Island in 1812 is closely associated with two contemporary events in United States history—the West Florida Revolution of 1810 and the War of 1812. The

p. 21. Clarke had been surveyor general of East Florida under the Spanish government, and after the revolution was deputy governor of the northern division of the province. His testimony will frequently be referred to hereinafter.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ G. R. Fairbanks, *History of Florida* (Philadelphia, 1871), p. 254.

⁶ *Niles' Register*, XIII. 190.

⁷ G. W. Daniels, "The Cotton Trade under the Embargo", in *American Historical Review*, XXI. 281, 285.

⁸ E. Channing, *History of the United States* (New York, 1912), VI. 333-334.

⁹ Testimony of G. J. F. Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

establishment of the West Florida Republic in 1810, and the difficulty of managing the unruly region, seems to have convinced Don Vicente Folch, the Spanish governor of West Florida, of the futility of further resistance to American penetration, for on December 2, 1810, even before he knew of the American occupation of Baton Rouge, he wrote to President Madison's secretary of state, Robert Smith, making a provisional offer to transfer his province to the United States, provided no Spanish aid reached him from Cuba or Mexico within a month, or that negotiations were not opened concerning the future of the district.¹⁰ In this message, and in the steps by which West Florida had already been acquired, probably lies the key to much of the later conduct of the East Florida Revolution of 1812. Certainly, Governor W. C. C. Claiborne's proceedings in the occupation of West Florida,¹¹ approved as they were by Madison, cannot fail to be likened to the later procedure of General George Mathews in East Florida which, though disavowed by Madison, was undoubtedly inspired by his instructions and by Claiborne's example. No doubt Folch's communication strengthened Madison's designs upon East Florida.

However this may be, on January 3, 1811, the president gave to congress a secret message, in which he made a request for authority to take temporary possession of any part of the Floridas, according to any arrangements which might be made with the Spanish authorities, or—and this is significant—according to any arrangements in case these authorities should be deposed and Florida be in danger of seizure by any foreign power.¹² By “any other foreign power” was obviously

¹⁰ *American State Papers, Foreign Relation*, III. 398.

¹¹ Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1812* (New York, 1925), p. 72; Isaac J. Cox, *The West Florida Controversy* (Baltimore, 1918), p. 330.

¹² John Bassett Moore, *International Arbitrations*, (6 v., Washington, 1898), V. 4519-4520; Pratt, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74; *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 394.

meant England, as James Monroe later informed the French minister.¹³

The matter was not long debated by congress. There were presented to Madison and approved by him January 15, 1811, a resolution and an act, the tenor of which suggest the later doctrine of manifest destiny. The resolution declared that, taking into view the peculiar situation of Spain and her American provinces; and considering the influence which the destiny of the territory adjoining the southern border of the United States may have upon their security, tranquility, and commerce, . . . the United States, under the peculiar circumstances of the existing crisis, cannot, without serious inquietude, see any part of the said territory pass into the hands of any foreign power; and that a due regard to their own safety compels them to provide, under certain contingencies, for the temporary occupation of the said territory; they, at the same time, declare that the said territory shall, in their hands, remain subject to future negotiation.¹⁴

This last point is suggestive of several instances in our later foreign relations, and of Roosevelt's policy of acting first and talking afterward, but at least it helped to save the face of the administration. The act gave the president authority to take possession of all or part of the territory lying east of the river Perdido and south of the state of Georgia and the Mississippi Territory, subject to any arrangements made therefor with the "local authority" of the region, or in case of an attempt to occupy such territory by any foreign government. He was also empowered to use the army and navy of the United States for the purpose of maintaining order in the region occupied; one hundred thousand dollars was appropriated to defray the

¹³ Henry Adams, *History of the United States, 1806-1817*, (9 v., New York, 1911), VI. 241-242, quoting *Archives des Affaires Etrangères*, MSS., Serurier to Maret, May 4, 1812; F. E. Chadwick, *Relations of the United States and Spain: Diplomacy*, (New York, 1909), pp. 115-116. For Madison's opinion of the future of Florida, see his *Writings* (Gaillard Hunt's edition, 9 v., New York, 1910), VII. 54-55, Madison to Monroe, July 29, 1803.

¹⁴ *U. S. Stat. at Large*, III. 471.

expenses of the occupation; and he was authorized to establish a temporary government therein.¹⁵ A subsequent act, March 3, 1811, forbade the publication of these pieces of legislation, and they were not promulgated until the sessions act of the fifteenth congress, April 20, 1818.¹⁶

As far as can be determined, Madison made this request for congressional authority in all good faith, apparently placing full confidence in Folch's offer. The president's motives are harder to penetrate. So far as East Florida was concerned, he may have intended to put a stop to the smuggling activities along the St. Marys River; and probably the whole matter, from his viewpoint, was merely one of extending the borders of the United States at a time which seemed most favorable for the purpose—that is, when Spain was facing revolts in its colonies and at home. At any rate, on January 26, 1811, the secretary of state authorized and instructed two commissioners for carrying out the act of congress. These gentlemen were Colonel John McKee, an Indian agent, and General George Mathews, a revolutionary war veteran, and ex-governor of Georgia.¹⁷ Their instructions were remarkably vague and general. They were told to go to West Florida at once, and secretly. They were to negotiate with Governor Folch, and accept the country from him if he were still agreeable to its cession, and were to agree, if necessary, to restore the province to Spain later. They were authorized, if necessary, to assume the payment of Spanish debts to the people of the Floridas; to guarantee all land titles; to permit Spanish officials to retain their positions under United States rule, or

¹⁵ *U. S. Stat. at Large*, III. 471-472.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 472.

¹⁷ Pratt, *op. cit.*, p. 75. Mathews was a native of Ireland. After fighting in the Revolution, he came to Georgia in 1785, and was next year elected governor of the state. He was again elected to this office in 1794-1795. He is described as a man of "unsurpassed bravery and indomitable energy", strong-minded but almost illiterate (A. J. Pickett, *History of Alabama*, second ed., Sheffield, Alabama, 1896, pp. 444-445). He had also, it seems, been a special agent for the secretary of war on the Florida frontier, Cox, *op. cit.*, pp. 458-459).

to advance money for their transportation out of the country; all Spanish government property was to be held sacred, as were the lives, liberties, and property of the inhabitants. In treating with the governor, they were authorized, if he insisted, to imply the possible restoration of West Florida with East Florida, though in so doing they must not definitely give up the claim of the United States to the former. If no arrangement seemed possible at all, they were to keep watch, and on the undoubted approach of a foreign power, to seize the Floridas, in which case promising as little as possible from the United States. They were to be furnished with United States troops from Georgia, subject to Mathews's orders.¹⁸

The commissioners were not long in closing their negotiations with Governor Folch. The Spaniard had made a complete about-face, his suspicions having apparently been aroused by learning of the American occupation of Baton Rouge; and he had been provided with funds by his superiors, together with orders to hold the province at all costs. Conveniently ignoring his letter to Madison, he informed the commissioners that their overtures were insults.¹⁹ In April of 1811, therefore, Mathews and McKee turned their office over to Governor Claiborne, and Mathews was given power to continue his mission alone, with regard to the possible acquisition of East Florida.²⁰

It is at this point that Mathews seems to have acquired some exalted notions of the scope of his commission. He claimed later to have been given verbal instructions of a much more explicit and ambitious nature than those written to him by Robert Smith and Monroe.²¹ The precedent of the Baton Rouge affair may have been taken by him as justification for his conduct. The situation at St. Marys, Georgia, when he

¹⁸ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 571.

¹⁹ Cox, *op. cit.*, pp. 522-528.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; Pratt, *op. cit.*, pp. 79.

²¹ Adams, *op. cit.*, VI. 238; Pratt, *op. cit.*, p. 79, citing Mathews to Monroe, June 22, 1812, *State Department MSS., Division of Publications*.

arrived there in the spring of 1811, was such as to bear out a broad construction of his orders. He found the St. Marys River full of British vessels, from which a busy trade in British merchandise was going on in open violation of the non-importation acts. Amelia Island and the town of Fernandina were smuggling depots, in defiance of Spanish authority, which, indeed, was being used as a protection for this activity.²² There was also a profitable trade in lumber, but this, at the time, was less important than smuggling, which in fact was so lucrative that many of the Spanish and American traders of St. Marys and Fernandina were unwilling to see Florida pass into the hands of the United States, because such an event would mean a serious loss to their business; and this attitude on their part seems to have handicapped Mathews.²³

Mathews made no false pretenses as to his acts, in reporting his conduct to Monroe, who in April, 1811, had succeeded Robert Smith as secretary of state. In a letter to Monroe, August 3, 1811, he says:

I ascertained that the quiet possession of East Florida could not be obtained by an amicable negotiation with the powers that exist there; . . . that the inhabitants of the province are ripe for revolt. They are, however, incompetent to effect a thorough revolution without external aid. If two hundred stand of arms and fifty horsemen's swords were in their possession, I am confident they would commence the business and with a fair prospect of success. These could be put into their hands by consigning them to the commanding officer at this post [St. Marys], subject to my order. I shall use the most discreet management to prevent the United States being committed; and although I cannot vouch for the event, I think there would be but little danger.²⁴

²² Adams, VII. 238; J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, (8 v., New York, 1895), III. 537; *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., pp. 36-37. Statement of Judge Bronson in *United States v. Ferreira*. Bronson says that Fernandina was "a kind of neutral or free port, at which a large and lucrative trade was carried on with all nations". Also quoted in Pratt, p. 78.

²³ Pratt, pp. 77-78.

²⁴ Adams, VI. 239, quoting "East Florida Invasion", (*Secret Acts, Resolutions, and Instructions under which East Florida was invaded by the U. S. Troops*,

The persons to whom Mathews refers as "ripe for revolt" were probably not those who were profiting by the illicit border trade, but rather the hard-living, turbulent bordermen, and a few discontented American planters in East Florida. George J. F. Clarke, a resident of Spanish Florida, gives a quite different version from that of Mathews in his testimony in a United States supreme court case arising out of the East Florida Revolution:

The condition of the country was most prosperous. Every man was making money hand over hand as fast as he could, and in consequence of the restrictive measures of the American government, the trade of the United States with all the world, except Spain, centered in Fernandina.

In consequence of the general prosperity, the overtures of General Mathews were resisted, and the governor [*i.e.*, Mathews] became so much enraged at his want of success, that he resolved to visit Governor White [of Florida] and tempt him in St. Augustine. He prosecuted his journey as far as Atkinson's on the St. Johns, to whom he imparted his purpose; and Atkinson, who was an amiable man, dissuaded him; said he, "as sure as you open your mouth to White on the subject, you will die in chains in the Moro Castle, and all the devils in hell can't save you". General Mathews retraced his steps the next day. . . .

So far was Mathews from succeeding in alluring the inhabitants to revolt, that he had said if five thousand Floridians, or even three, would join him, he could then go on and command in his service the United States forces in the neighborhood.²⁵

Meanwhile, the Spanish authorities were not ignorant of the danger menacing Florida. Augustus J. Foster, the recently-arrived British minister to the United States, seems to have coöperated with the Spanish ambassador, Don Luis de Onís, for on September 5, 1811, he wrote to Monroe, giving Onís's version of Mathews's activities along the border, and

Naval Forces, and Volunteers, in 1812 and 1813. Compiled by James Cooper and Charles E. Sherman, Washington, 1860).

²⁵ *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., 17-18, *United States v. Ferreira*. The Spanish governor referred to was Don Enrique White, governor 1795-1811.

making a formal protest on the part of Great Britain. According to Foster's version of Onís's account, Mathews was, in order to produce revolution,

using every method of seduction to his purpose, offering to each white inhabitant, who would side with him, fifty acres of land, and the guarantee of his religion and property; stipulating also that the American Government would pay the debts of the Spanish Government, whether due in pensions or otherwise, and that he would cause the officers and soldiers of the garrison to be conveyed to such places as should be indicated, provided they did not rather choose to enter into the service of the United States.²⁶

Monroe's reply to this two months later (November 2, 1811), made no reference to Mathews's conduct, but, as if it were quite the usual means of acquiring territory, proceeded to outline the reasons of the United States for desiring Florida. He recounted the injuries of the United States at the hands of Spain, by spoliations upon commerce, by the denial of the right of deposit at New Orleans before the Louisiana Purchase, and the lack of reparations therefor. He reasserted the claim of the United States to West Florida as a part of the French cession of 1803, and calmly announced that our claims were much too great to be adequately met by the acquisition of East Florida. He held, further, that we had shown great moderation in not taking all of Florida sooner, but that in view of European designs upon the Spanish provinces, we should not delay any longer. Finally, in terms suggestive of his famous Doctrine, he warned Great Britain against encroaching upon Florida.²⁷

²⁶ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 543-544.

²⁷ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 544, Monroe to Foster, November 2, 1811: "Situated as East Florida is, cut off from the other possessions of Spain, and surrounded in a great measure by the territory of the United States, and having also an important bearing on their commerce, no other Power could think of taking possession of it, with other than hostile views to them. Nor could any other Power take possession of it without endangering their prosperity and best interests".

Mathews also reported his proceedings to Madison, through his own personal friend, Senator William H. Crawford of Georgia, who may have elaborated upon them. Madison appears to have refrained from all comment upon Mathews's conduct at this stage, and his silence was probably tacit encouragement to the commissioner.²⁸

However, this may be, preparations for the revolution went on apace, and early in the spring of 1812, Mathews was only awaiting the aid of the expected United State military and naval forces which had been promised him, to make good his pledges to the malcontents of East Florida. The American naval officer stationed at Charleston, Commodore Hugh Campbell, was ordered with nine gunboats and a supply of munitions, to the St. Marys, and a detachment of United States troops under Captain (later Lieutenant-Colonel) T. A. Smith, was stationed at the government arsenal at Point Peter, just below the town of St. Marys on the river, with orders to be prepared for action.²⁹

Among the settlers in East Florida, Mathews had found one man of a spirit kindred to his own, whom he selected as the nominal leader of the enterprise, and who seemed qualified for the position by his experience. John H. McIntosh was, like Mathews, a revolutionary war veteran, and had held some minor offices under the Spanish government in Florida. He resided on a plantation on the St. Johns River, and along this stream he had built up a considerable lumber trade, and possessed some influence among the rivermen and frontiersmen of that region.³⁰

²⁸ Hubert B. Fuller, *The Purchase of Florida* (Cleveland, 1906), p. 192; Adams, VI. 239.

²⁹ Pratt, pp. 80-81, citing Navy Department and War Department MSS. Campbell was ostensibly sent to the St. Marys River for the suppression of smuggling. See Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

³⁰ Fuller, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 192; Fairbanks, *op. cit.*, p. 250; McMaster, *op. cit.*, III. 538.

By various means a collection of malcontents was made among the settlers along the St. Johns and St. Marys. Special efforts seem to have been made to interest and enlist the wealthier planters and traders of the vicinity. Mathews showed his credentials and instructions freely, it is said, and gave the impression that the United States would make good any loss or damage which his prospective revolutionists might sustain.³¹ It was generally understood that he was acting with full discretionary powers from the United States government, and that the American naval and military forces were at his command.³² Mathews secured the assistance, notably, of one Lodowick Ashley, a prosperous cattleman and lumber dealer on the St. Marys, who was, after some difficulty, persuaded to take a leading part in the enterprise;³³ and mention should be made of Archibald Clark, of St. Marys, who also was prominent in the organization of the revolutionary forces, and later United States customs collector of the port of St. Marys, at the time of the troubles of 1817.

On the 12th of March, 1812, all plans were complete. The revolutionists expected, with the aid of the United States gunboats and land forces from Point Peter, to make a surprise attack on St. Augustine and have it in their possession by the 16th.³⁴ But "an unexpected circumstance" upset their calculations. Colonel Smith, the commander at Point Peter, was absent on leave, and when Mathews came to the post to ar-

³¹ *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., pp. 28-30, testimony of Archibald Clark. The testimony of Zephaniah Kingsley, (*ibid.*, pp. 21-25), bears out Clark's statements.

³² *Ibid.*, Archibald Clark's statement. Clark (p. 29), says: "This expedition, called the Patriot war, was planned and got up by General Mathews in Georgia. It was there started and myself and others joined in it under the idea and belief that Mathews was acting for and on the behalf of the government of the United States".

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., p. 66. McIntosh wrote to López. March 15, 1812: "Had it not been for an unexpected circumstance, we could have had possession of St. Augustine and the fort [Fernandina] on tomorrow night".

range for the use of the United States troops in East Florida, he found in charge Major Jacint Laval, who proved to be not at all in sympathy with the project, and who, having no definite orders to that effect, refused to let his men assist Mathews. He became more emphatic in his refusal when he discovered that the men were not expected to go as United States soldiers, but as volunteers in the revolutionary forces:

. . . He informed us that the conduct of General Mathews had placed him in the most extraordinary and disagreeable situation; that he was compelled to become a sentinel himself in his own camp; that he [*i.e.*, Mathews] had attempted to seduce his troops to leave him, but that he might rest tranquil on this point, because his troops would not move one step without him; and, to satisfy us on this subject, he stated to us the following circumstance: that, at the commencement of General Mathew's arrangements for this revolution, he asked him for a detachment of United States troops to assist in taking St. Augustine by surprise, and that his men came to him and declared to him that they would not march unless he commanded them. And, finally, he assured us that they had used every stratagem that was possible to induce him to engage in this business with the United States troops, but that he had rejected with firmness all the offers which had been made to him. . . .³⁵

Thus reported the commissioners whom Don Justo López, the Spanish commandant at Fernandina, later sent to Point Peter. The stubbornness of Major Laval ruined the revolutionary plan of campaign, by which St. Augustine was to have been taken first, through a surprise attack. Commodore Campbell, in command of the gunboat flotilla in the St. Marys, declined to let the gunboats assist the revolutionists, unless accompanied by the military forces.³⁶ Mathews and McIntosh,

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-74. Report of José Hibberson and José de la Maza Arredondo, March 17, 1812. These commissioners were sent by López to determine the probable attitude of the United States troops in case of the expected attack on Fernandina by the revolutionists. Their report will be referred to again hereinafter.

³⁶ Pratt, *op. cit.*, 94. Captain Winslow Foster, one of the gunboat commanders, says that the revolutionary force, with one or two exceptions, was composed of United States citizens. *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., p. 26.

being checked in this plan, by which United States forces were to be used, were thrown back upon their own resources, and compelled to organize the revolutionary government and gather an army with which to win East Florida by a more gradual process, pending the return of Colonel Smith.

At Ashley's home, on the St. Marys, the government of the republic of East Florida was drawn up, Mathews engineering the proceedings; and a proclamation was issued, calling upon the people to join the revolutionists, promising lands to those who would do so, and banishment and confiscation of property to those who refused.³⁷ Then, on March 14, the whole body of insurgents assembled at Rose's Bluff, on the St. Marys River, opposite the town of St. Marys in Georgia, and completed the formation and proclamation of the new government. Colonel John H. McIntosh was chosen "director", and Lodowick Ashley was made military commander.³⁸ An insurgent flag was raised on the bluff, and all was considered ready for the conquest of East Florida.³⁹ Mathews seems to have begun actual operations here, for the officials of the "republic" asked him to take charge of its territory (Rose's Bluff) in the name of the United States, which he did.⁴⁰ He then called upon Major Laval again to send forces to occupy the newly ceded territory, but the latter refused; and it appears to have been this refusal which provoked Mathews to attempt to enlist the United States soldiers in his enterprise in defiance of their commander.⁴¹ Next day, March 15, the revolutionary army

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23. (Testimony of Zephaniah Kingsley, one of the Florida planters who held somewhat aloof from the revolution).

³⁸ Fuller, p. 193.

³⁹ The insurgent flag, designed by Colonel Ralph Isaac, Mathews's aide-de-camp, consisted of a white field, with the device of a blue-clad soldier with bayonet charged, and the motto, "salus populi lex suprema". *Sen. Misc. Doc. No. 55*, 36 cong., 1 sess., pp. 18, 27. (Testimony of G. J. F. Clarke and Captain Winslow Foster).

⁴⁰ *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., pp. 75-76. (Report of Philip P. Yonge and George Atkinson to Don Justo López, March 17, 1812).

⁴¹ Pratt, pp. 95-96.

moved down the river two miles to Lower Bluff, only seven miles from Fernandina, and preparations were begun for the taking of Amelia Island.⁴²

Mathews was apparently more successful with Commodore Campbell than with Major Laval. In dealing with the former, he invoked the clause of his instructions which authorized him to take possession of East Florida in case of a threatened seizure by a foreign power. There was in Amelia harbor a considerable number of British vessels, some of which were taking on lumber for the use of the British navy.⁴³ These were the occasion, probably, of his assumption. He also claimed to have positive information that two British regiments of black troops were about to be landed to take possession of the country.⁴⁴ Under these circumstances he considered himself justified in calling upon the naval commander for assistance. Campbell complied with Mathews's requests, though probably with some misgivings. He had, it appears, brought some supplies and munitions from Charleston for the use of the revolutionists, and deposited them at Point Peter. At Mathews's request, Campbell sent to Point Peter and secured for the revolutionists these supplies, though Laval seems to have yielded them grudgingly.⁴⁵

Don Justo López, the Spanish commandant of the post at Fernandina, had a garrison of but ten men, and was naturally

⁴² *Sen. Misc. Doc.* No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., p. 18. G. J. F. Clarke's testimony; Pratt, p. 96.

⁴³ *Niles' Register*, II. 251, quoting *Augusta Chronicle*; *Sen. Misc. Doc.* No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., p. 27 (Foster's testimony).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74. (Report of Hibberson and Arredondo to López, March 17, 1812); pp. 75-76 (Report of Yonge and Atkinson to López, March 17, 1812). Mathews claimed his source of authority on this point to be a half-pay British officer residing in Georgia (Hibberson and Arredondo's Report).

⁴⁵ *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., p. 26. Foster's testimony is to this effect: "The Major said, . . . that, though he had promised arms, etc. . . . he thought it a d—n rascally business, and advised witness [Foster] to tell his commander to get his neck out of the halter as soon as possible". Archibald Clark testifies (*ibid.*, p. 29), that fifty stand of arms were issued to the revolutionists at this time.

perturbed at the proceedings of the revolutionists along the St. Marys.⁴⁶ On March 10, he wrote to several justices at St. Marys, inquiring as to their knowledge of the authors of these preparations which seemed to threaten his post, and received in reply a disclaimer of any more than hearsay knowledge of the plans of the revolutionists.⁴⁷

While he was still in a state of uncertainty, there came to him, on March 15, under a flag of truce, a letter from McIntosh, informing him of the progress made by the revolutionists in subjugating the surrounding country, and summoning him to surrender peacefully, or rather, to join with the "patriots" in their "glorious cause". McIntosh stipulated also, that Fernandina should not be subject to the restrictions on commerce imposed by the laws of the United States, and promised that if López would submit peaceably, the revolutionists would not occupy the island, but that two United States gunboats would soon arrive there, to preserve order.⁴⁸

Next day, another and more explicit summons arrived from Colonel Lodowick Ashley:

Sir—The patriots of the districts situated between the rivers St. John's and St. Mary's invite you to unite with them in their patriotic undertaking, which is to place themselves under the protection of the government of the United States, which guarantees to every man his religion, his liberty, and his property, and that she will pay to every soldier and individual the amount that may be due to them by the Spanish government . . . or they summon you to surrender the town of Fernandina. . . .

⁴⁶ Fuller, p. 193.

⁴⁷ *Sen. Misc. Doc. No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., pp. 65-66.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67. Said McIntosh: "We are encamped, increasing like a snow-ball; and we have already sufficient forces to conquer all the province; we intend laying siege to Amelia island, or more properly, to invite you to unite with us in our glorious cause. The determination of the United States to take possession of our produce by conquest have caused us to agree, who have interested ourselves in the advantages which we actually enjoy, to place it under their protection; therefore we have already secured all the country between the rivers St. John's and St. Mary's. . . ."

We are informed, sir, that you have armed the negroes on the island against us; we hope that it may not be true; for if we find it to be so, you will recollect that we solemnly declare to give no quarter in the town of Fernandina. . . . The United States gun-boats will co-operate for the purpose of preventing the British vessels, etc., from acting hostilely against us.⁴⁹

Ashley also made offers of terms later subscribed to, and gave López one hour in which to make his decision thereon. López expostulated against this, and sent commissioners to treat with Ashley and with Mathews.⁵⁰ But those sent to Ashley met with no success, and were summarily dismissed, with a message to López that the revolutionary forces would land on Amelia Island that day (March 17, 1812).

Meanwhile, López had been strengthening his defenses as much as possible, and mustering the inhabitants of Fernandina, from whom some fifty or sixty men were hastily gathered and armed. The old and half-ruined fort was built up by means of bales of cotton for ramparts, and a few small cannon were mounted.⁵¹ López also, on March 16, sent a message to Commodore Campbell, whose gunboats had come down the river and were lying off Amelia Island, asking him what were his intentions with regard to the impending siege of Fernandina.⁵² Campbell told the messengers that he had written to General Mathews, "to satisfy himself on one point", and that he could not answer them until he had heard from the general.⁵³ Next day, however, he replied, excusing his delay, and giving this naïve explanation of his future conduct:

I take the liberty of informing you that the naval forces of America, near Amelia, *do not act in the name of the United States*,

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68, March 16, 1812.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18 (George J. F. Clarke's testimony); Pratt, p. 98.

⁵² *Sen. Misc. Doc. No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., p. 70* (López to Campbell, March 17, 1812).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 70 (Report of George Atkinson and G. J. F. Clarke to López, March 16, 1812).

but do it in aiding and assisting a large portion of your inhabitants, who have thought proper to declare themselves independent, and are now in the act of supplicating you to unite with them in their cause. You can readily, sir, form a conception of the task, which has been imposed upon me, but I hope that it will be accomplished without the effusion of human blood, while the arm of humanity and protection will be extended to the objects that deserve it.⁵⁴

López had sent other messengers to Point Peter, to inquire what disposition was to be made of the United States military forces there.⁵⁵ From Major Laval, already testy over Mathews's conduct, he received an emphatic reply, of interesting contrast to that of Campbell:

You desire to know from me, sir, if the United States are to be considered as principals or auxiliaries? I have the greatest satisfaction in informing you that *the United States are neither principals or auxiliaries*, and that I am not authorized to make any attack upon East Florida; and I have taken the firm resolution of not marching the troops of the United States, having no instructions to that effect.⁵⁶

López's commissioners to Mathews had some difficulty in finding him, for he had left Lower Bluff and was at Point Peter. And upon finding him there, they had only a quarrelsome interview with him, coming away in disappointment.⁵⁷

Events moved rapidly the next day (March 17, 1812). López, doubtless encouraged by the tenor of Laval's reply, sent off another mission to Mathews, early in the morning. As the commissioners left the harbor in a small boat on their way to Low's plantation, Mathews's headquarters, they perceived the gunboats entering the harbor. Their mission to

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71 (Campbell to López, March 17, 1812). The italics are mine.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72 (López to Laval, March 16, 1812).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 72, Laval to López, March 16, 1812. The italics are mine.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-74 (Report of José Hibberson and José de la Maza Arredondo). See above, notes 35 and 44, and text referred to therein.

Mathews was as fruitless as that of the day before.⁵⁸ Before their return, Commodore Campbell's vessels had assumed a position before the fort of Fernandina which made the Spanish situation hopeless. Two of the gunboats remained at the mouth of the harbor, for the purpose of preventing some of the British vessels, which bore letters of marque, from interfering to assist the Spaniards.⁵⁹ Five were drawn up before the makeshift fort, and the eighth sailed up and down the harbor.⁶⁰ According to one version, from this vessel signals were fired which brought up the revolutionary forces.⁶¹ The gunboats anchored by the fort had springs on their cables, their guns trained on the ramparts, and men at their posts ready for action.⁶²

Within the town there was great consternation, especially when, about ten o'clock, several large boats were seen coming down from Lower Bluff, full of revolutionists.⁶³ Some of the townsmen called out to the gunboats, which were not more than two hundred yards from the shore:⁶⁴

"Keep off, or remain neutral until we decide the contest with the patriots!"⁶⁵

The reply from the gunboats was:

"If you fire on them, we will fire upon you!"

The people were undecided, and appealed to Don Justo, who, after some hesitation, sent out a boat to the gunboats,

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76. Report of Yonge and Atkinson. See above, note 40. Their mission was to inquire by what authority Mathews was about to take possession of Amelia Island, and to find out what use was to be made of the gunboats. Mathews gave evasive answers.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27 (Testimony of Captain Winslow Foster). Foster says that the gunboat commanders (of whom he was one), had orders from Campbell to use force to aid the landing of the revolutionists, and to give aid to the wounded. He says also that the next day Campbell recalled all copies of his written orders, and that they were never seen again. See p. 26.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18 (testimony of G. J. F. Clarke).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 18 (testimony of G. J. F. Clarke).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22 (testimony of Zephaniah Kingsley).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18 (Clarke's testimony).

bearing the Spanish flag and offering to surrender it to the United States naval officers.⁶⁶ But those on the gunboats refused to hold any communication with the flag bearers, and the flag was returned to the shore and hoisted again.⁶⁷ Meanwhile, the revolutionists had landed at Fernandina Bluff, about a mile from the town, and an hour or two afterward they marched into the streets, some two hundred and fifty strong, with McIntosh and Ashley in command. They took possession and raised the revolutionary flag, whereupon the gunboats withdrew from the vicinity of the fort and returned to Point Peter.⁶⁹ Most accounts agree that the presence of the gunboats was the decisive factor in the success of the revolutionists; and the Spanish witnesses confidently assert that otherwise the garrison would have resisted the revolutionists successfully,⁷⁰ while one of the American gunboat commanders is equally certain that had it not been for the presence of the United States vessels, the British craft in Amelia harbor would have come to the aid of the Spaniards.⁷¹

Articles of capitulation were entered into at four o'clock that day,⁷² López signing under protest.⁷³ Of these articles the most important and significant was as follows:

That the island shall, twenty-four hours after the surrender, be ceded to the United States of America, under the express condition that the port of Fernandina shall not be subject to any of the restrictions on commerce that exist at present in the United States, but shall be open, as heretofore, to British and other vessels and produce, on paying the lawful tonnage and import duties; and, in case of actual war

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25 (Captain Foster's testimony).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18 (Clarke's testimony).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 26 (Clarke's and Foster's statements).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 76 (Report of Yonge and Atkinson); *Niles' Register*, II. 93. Considering the numbers of potential combatants on either side, this statement may be discounted.

⁷¹ *Sen. Misc. Doc. No. 55*, 36 cong., 1 sess., p. 28 (statement of Foster).

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78, López to Estrada, March 20, 1812, Fairbanks, p. 254; Fuller, p. 194.

⁷³ *Sen. Misc. Doc. No. 55*, 36 cong., 1 sess., p. 19 (statement of Clarke).

between the United States and Great Britain, the port of Fernandina shall be open to British merchant vessels and produce, and considered a free port until the first of May, 1813.⁷⁴

Next day Mathews arrived, and on his heels came Colonel Smith, who had returned to Point Peter and been in the former's confidence.⁷⁵ Mathews accepted the cession of the island from the local authorities, in the name of the United States.⁷⁶ A company of United States infantry, and two companies of riflemen, came next, and occupied the island.⁷⁷

Thus ended the most dramatic episode of the East Florida Revolution of 1812. As an example of the methods of American filibusters, developed to a high degree, it is most interesting. All the elements of filibustering "technique", if such a term may be used, are discernible in the preparation of the revolution—the spreading of propaganda among the American- and British-born settlers in a Hispanic colony, the organization of a revolutionary government much after the manner of the Spanish-American revolutionists and with all the trappings and catchwords and exaggerated grievances, and finally the attack upon the nearest representatives of the legitimate authority, followed (in this case, immediately), by the appeal to the United States to assume jurisdiction.

The next phase of the revolution deals with the attempt of the revolutionists to take St. Augustine (a much more difficult undertaking than the seizure of Fernandina), and with the conduct of the United States troops in East Florida.

After the taking of Fernandina, Commodore Campbell seems to have had a change of heart, for although Mathews

⁷⁴ *Niles' Register*, II. 93; Fairbanks, pp. 254-255. Mathews gave his assent to the articles next day. This clause was evidently meant to pacify those inhabitants of Fernandina who profited by the illicit commerce.

⁷⁵ Pratt, p. 100. López and his men remained at Fernandina as prisoners until May, when they were sent to St. Augustine.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*; McMaster, III. 539.

⁷⁷ *Sen. Misc. Doc. No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., p. 19* (Clarke's testimony); Pratt, pp. 100-101.

still requested his services, he rendered them in a half-hearted manner, and did not appear anxious to coöperate with the military forces, which under Colonel Smith now took a more prominent part in the East Florida campaign. Campbell allowed two or three of his gunboats to protect the passage of the troops up the St. Johns, and he kept one or two hovering off the harbor of St. Augustine, but they seem to have taken little or no active part in the revolution after the fall of Fernandina.⁷⁸ Their chief function, indeed, was the maintenance of communication with Smith's forces.⁷⁹

It was a strange conquering army that set out from Fernandina a day or two after the capitulation of the town. First marched the revolutionary forces, not more than five hundred strong, accompanied usually by Mathews.⁸⁰ This force reduced all opposition as they advanced:

As we marched into the province the inhabitants of the country were induced or compelled to join the patriot forces. They were given to understand that no neutrals could be left in the rear, and that if they did not join them they must leave the country.⁸¹

As they advanced the country was claimed for the revolution, and "local authorities" created. After the revolutionary army came Colonel Smith, with about one hundred United States regulars, to occupy the country as it was ceded to the United States by the Republic of East Florida:

The ceremony was this: a handsome oration was made by some patriot orator, offering the country to the United States; the patriot's flag was then taken down, and the United States colors elevated in its place, with a speech from Colonel Smith, accepting the country for the United States, and offering a pledge that he would keep and defend it.⁸²

⁷⁸ *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., p. 27 (statement of Foster); *ibid.*, p. 19 (statement of Clarke).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*; Pratt, p. 105.

⁸⁰ *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., p. 77 (López to Estrada, March 18, 1812); *ibid.*, p. 22 (testimony of Zephaniah Kingsley).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30 (testimony of Archibald Clark).

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 22 (testimony of Zephaniah Kingsley).

Thus, technically, Smith was always within the borders of the United States. His steady occupation of the country behind Mathews's acceptances of its cession, convinced the people that Mathews actually had full authority to take the province for the United States.⁸³

On the 12th of April, Smith took possession, from the revolutionists who had preceded him, of old Fort Moosa, an abandoned outwork about two miles from St. Augustine, and within sight of the defenses of the city.⁸⁴ The Spanish forces were scarcely large enough to garrison the city, and made no resistance to the advance of the revolutionary army.⁸⁵ But the revolutionists and American forces at Fort Moosa were too near the capital for the comfort of the garrison, and Acting Governor Estrada mounted some guns upon a Spanish schooner and sent it against the fort, which stood upon the banks of a creek. As the vessel came up the creek, it was fired upon by the revolutionists; but when, in reply, a twenty-four-pound shot passed through the fort, the Americans gave up their position.⁸⁶ The besiegers then fell back upon several positions along the St. Johns, but one camp remained about four miles from St. Augustine.⁸⁷

Meanwhile, disaster fell upon the arch-revolutionist, Mathews, at a time when his prospects seemed brightest. Various theories might be advanced to account for his treatment by Madison. It is possible that the president knew nothing of Mathews's broad construction of his orders. But the theory which seems most acceptable, and which was held by Mathews himself, is that Madison did not wish to be found sanctioning

⁸³ *Ibid.* Smith's men came up the St. John's in small boats to a point called Picolata, thence overland to the city; *ibid.*, p. 15 (testimony of John Bowden).

⁸⁴ Pratt, p. 103; Fairbanks, p. 255; C. M. Brevard, *History of Florida*, (2 v., Deland, Fla., 1924-1925), II. 30. After the revolutionists reached Moosa, William Craig succeeded Ashley as their commander.

⁸⁵ Pratt, p. 103.

⁸⁶ *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., p. 24 (Kingsley's statement); Fairbanks, p. 255.

⁸⁷ *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., p. 14, testimony of John Bowden.

a much more extravagant agent than John Henry,⁸⁸ for whose conduct he had just been criticizing Great Britain.⁸⁹ Or, it may be that Mathews's invasion of East Florida was merely premature. At all events, on April 4, 1812, Monroe wrote to Mathews, informing him that he had exceeded both the authority of the secret law of 1811, and his own instructions, pointing out that the occupation of East Florida had been sanctioned in one of only two contingencies: first, that the governor of the province might desire to cede it to the United States; second, that a foreign power might seem about to seize the country. The executive had never proposed to take the country forcibly from Spain, and Mathews's irregular proceedings were regrettable, though due to over-zealousness. He was ordered to give up his duties at once to the governor of Georgia.⁹⁰ Thus was Mathews repudiated, despite his protestations. He seems to have been very bitter about the matter, and after a conference with Senator Crawford in Georgia, started for Washington to see Madison in person. But, worn out by his activities, he fell ill while on the way, and died in Augusta, September 1, 1812.⁹¹

On April 10, 1812, Monroe wrote to David B. Mitchell, governor of Georgia, requesting him to take charge of the United States forces in East Florida. Mathews's instructions were repeated, and regret expressed for the manner in which they had been carried out. "I forbear," wrote the secretary of state, "to dwell on the details of this transaction because it is painful to recite them." Mitchell was asked to restore East Florida to its former condition, withdrawing the United States troops entirely, and he was especially to secure from the Spanish authorities an amnesty for such persons as had joined

⁸⁸ See Pratt, pp. 109-110.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*; *Writings of James Madison*, (4 v., Philadelphia, 1865), II. 562 (Madison to Jefferson, April 24, 1812). Madison wrote: "In East Florida Mathews has been playing a strange comedy in the face of common-sense as well as of his instructions. His extravagances place us in the most distressing dilemma".

⁹⁰ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 572.

⁹¹ Pratt, pp. 114-115.

Mathews on the latter's promise of aid from the United States.⁹² Later instructions, May 27, contained these significant words:

It is not expected, if you should find it proper to withdraw the troops, that you should interfere to compel the patriots to surrender the country, or any part of it, to the Spanish authorities. The United States are responsible for their own conduct only, not for that of the inhabitants of East Florida. Indeed, in consequence of the commitment of the United States to the inhabitants, you have been already instructed not to withdraw the troops, unless you find that it can be done consistently with their safety, and to report to the Government the result of your conferences with the Spanish authorities, with your opinion of their views, holding in the mean time the ground occupied.⁹³

Therefore, Mitchell was to obtain safety for the revolutionists, to aid them as much as possible, and to withdraw the troops as slowly as might seem feasible. No better way of continuing Mathews's work could perhaps have been devised, and Mitchell seems to have made the most of his opportunities.

The Spanish attack on Fort Moosa appears to have been made while a kind of truce was in force between Smith and the defenders of St. Augustine, pending the result of negotiations between Mitchell (who was still at St. Marys), and Estrada.⁹⁴ Mitchell seized upon this incident as a grievance against the Spanish provincial government, and although Estrada's successor, Don Sebastián Kindelan, demonstrated that, since the United States regulars and the Floridian revolutionists occupied the same camp, it was hard to dislodge the latter without seeming to attack the former, Mitchell complained because the attack had been made *after* the United

⁹² *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 573.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, III. 573.

⁹⁴ *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., pp. 85-86 (Mitchell to Kindelan, June 16, 1812).

States had disclaimed responsibility for Mathews's invasion, and for the participation of its forces therein.⁹⁵

Kindelan took office June 11, 1812, and at first carried on negotiations with Smith, but when Mitchell took charge, he broke off relations with the United States commander, and resumed scarcely more satisfactory relations with Mitchell. He threatened to resort to desperate measures unless the United States forces were withdrawn at once.⁹⁶ But Mitchell would not listen to threats, and countered boldly with demands for an explanation of the Fort Moosa episode.⁹⁷

Kindelan's meaning with regard to "desperate measures", was soon made clear, and his subsequent actions went far toward saving East Florida for Spain. For now a third factor entered the situation. Both the revolutionists and the Spaniards had been negotiating with the Seminoles of Alachua, with the advantage on the side of Spain; and now the Spanish governor succeeded in winning over the Indians to his side. He did so just in time to save St. Augustine from a serious food scarcity due to the depredations of the insurgents in the vicinity.⁹⁸ On the 25th of July, all along the St. Johns, there broke out Indian warfare upon the helpless settlers, and the whole frontier was raided.⁹⁹ The result was even more than Kindelan had expected, for at once a majority of the revolutionary army left their camps and went home to defend their families and property.¹⁰⁰ The revolutionists, reduced to an ineffective rabble, retired, together with the United States troops, to a point on the St. Johns whence they could more

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-88 (Mitchell-Kindelan correspondence, June 16-July 6, 1812). Bowden's testimony (*ibid.*, 15-16), bears out Kindelan's statement that the United States troops and the revolutionists occupied the same camp.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 84 (Mitchell-Kindelan correspondence, Kindelan to Mitchell, June 11, 1812). He meant, of course, the Indian tribes, the last resort of the Spaniards.

⁹⁷ See above, notes 94 and 95.

⁹⁸ *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., pp. 23-24 (Kingsley's testimony).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

easily maintain communication with Georgia, and there established what they chose to call Camp New Hope.¹⁰¹

From Georgia came two expeditions of militiamen, one under Colonel Newnan in the summer of 1812, and one in the spring of 1813 under Colonel Williams, for the purpose of retaliation for the Indian outbreak; which presently died down, but not before its purpose had been accomplished, for the revolutionary army and camp dwindled to the point of uselessness.¹⁰²

Meanwhile, the East Florida Revolution had merged into a more important struggle, the War of 1812, and there was less concern in Washington over the situation along the St. Johns. The outbreak of war helped Mitchell to continue to keep the troops in East Florida, on his interpretation of his orders from Monroe. In congress, the matter was dismissed after a debate in the house, June 19, when a bill was passed authorizing the president not to withdraw the troops from East Florida. This was defeated in the senate, but Madison continued to hold the forces of the United States in Spanish territory, partly, perhaps, to allay Georgian fears of a British invasion from that quarter; partly to give the revolutionists all possible opportunity to recover.¹⁰³ Toward the end of July, 1812, Mitchell, after finding a new pretext for haggling with Kindelan, over the latter's supposedly dangerous employment of negro troops in the St. Augustine garrison,¹⁰⁴ had retired from St. Marys to deal with the war session of the Georgian legislature.¹⁰⁵ The revolutionary forces were by now negligible, though McIntosh kept up a show of government at Fernandina; and Smith, at length, was forced to rely upon the assistance of Newnan's Indian fighters to get his

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*; Fairbanks, p. 255.

¹⁰² *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 55, 39 cong., 1 sess., pp. 39-40 (Bronson's statement); Fairbanks, p. 257.

¹⁰³ Adams, *op. cit.*, VI. 243.

¹⁰⁴ *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., pp. 90-91 (Mitchell to Kindelan, July 6, 1812).

¹⁰⁵ Pratt, pp. 205, 211-212.

detachment safely to the St. Johns on the retreat from St. Augustine.¹⁰⁶

In October, 1812, Monroe, perhaps fearing that Mitchell might follow in the footsteps of Mathews, sent Major-General Thomas Pinckney to take charge of the whole border situation.¹⁰⁷ Pinckney seems to have had much better relations with Kindelan, and in March, 1813, they had reached the point of negotiating for the removal of the United States troops. In March, Don Luis de Onís, the Spanish minister at Washington, communicated to Monroe an act of amnesty for the East Florida insurgents "who had been induced to revolt by an agent of the United States, whose proceedings in that respect were unauthorized".¹⁰⁸ In accordance with this, Kindelan published a proclamation of amnesty, and both he and Pinckney began arrangements for the withdrawal of the United States forces.¹⁰⁹ On April 27, 1813, Smith's command left Camp New Hope on the St. Johns, early in the morning, setting the camp buildings afire as they left.¹¹⁰ On May 6, 1813, Kindelan arrived at Fernandina with a force of Spanish regulars for a garrison, and the United States troops were withdrawn from East Florida for a period of four years.¹¹¹

The results of the invasion had been ruinous to East Florida. All accounts agree on this point, and many of them attribute most of the damage done to the encouragement given the revolutionists by the presence of the United States regulars.¹¹² The combined force of insurgents and regulars seems to have lived on the country, and foraging parties were com-

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

¹⁰⁸ *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., pp. 90-91 (Pinckney to Kindelan, March 26, 1813).

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 91 (Kindelan-Pinckney correspondence, March 31-April 26, 1813); *Niles' Register*, IV. 126, April 24, 1813.

¹¹⁰ *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., p. 96 (Kindelan to Pinckney, April 28, 1813).

¹¹¹ Pratt, p. 234.

¹¹² *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, No. 55, 36 cong., 1 sess., p. 20 (G. J. F. Clarke's testimony); *ibid.*, p. 27 (Foster's statement).

posed of both groups.¹¹³ Says one of the planters of the country:

Everything was thrown into disorder, the houses all burned, the inhabitants flying or keeping up a feeble warfare against the Indians; fields were ravished; the cattle destroyed or driven away; slaves were left to the mercy of the Indians, or to their own control or discretion. All these evils arose, undoubtedly, from the presence of the United States troops, an agent, without which, there would have been no patriot insurrection, and no Indian warfare.

The country was in a very flourishing state when the revolution commenced. The lumber and cotton trade made it so. It never was so prosperous before or since. It was left by the patriots a perfect desert.¹¹⁴

As for the revolutionists, for nearly a year after the withdrawal of the American forces, they continued to menace the Spanish authority along the St. Marys.¹¹⁵ In August, 1813, they seem to have defeated the loyalists in a battle on the banks of that river.¹¹⁶ Then, and again in December, they sought to come to terms with the Spanish provincial government, but the latter refused to treat with them.¹¹⁷ Some of them retired into the Indian territory, Alachua, and there set up a paper government called the District of Alachua, under which name they sought to play some part in the relations between the United States and Spain.¹¹⁸ But in April, 1814, Monroe declined to have further relations with them, for, said he:

The United States being at peace with Spain, no countenance can be given by their government to the proceedings of the revolutionary party in East Florida, if it is composed of Spanish subjects—and still less can it be given them if it consists of American citizens. . . .¹¹⁹

¹¹³ *Ibid.* (John Bowden's testimony).

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24 (testimony of Zephaniah Kingsley).

¹¹⁵ *Pratt*, p. 238.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-242.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-245.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 246 (quoting *State Department MSS., Domestic Letters*, XVI. 234).

This statement, when compared with Madison's instructions to Mathews, forms an interesting example of the tortuous foreign policy of the United States during the period.

Finally, in 1816, George J. F. Clarke, by authority of the Spanish governor, Don José Coppinger, offered to the people of East Florida a proposition to abandon the "republic", and accept Spanish rule under a system by which the territory between the St. Marys and the St. Johns was divided into three districts, with local self-government. This was accepted, and the East Florida Revolution at last came to an end.¹²⁰

As an incident in the Spanish-American wars of independence, the East Florida Revolution represents a number of filibustering projects launched from the United States against the crumbling Spanish empire in the New World, of which this was only the northeasternmost attack. It is interesting to speculate, though only speculation is possible, as to what might have eventuated had not the attention of the United States been diverted by the War of 1812. Regarded in the light of an expansionist episode, the East Florida incident was abortive. But considered as merely one phase of the struggle between Anglo Americans and Spanish Americans for the bulk of the North American continent, a struggle in which each contestant was hammering out spheres of influence, and in which the United States took advantage of the Spanish American Revolution, a struggle in which there developed what might be called a technique of filibustering—the East Florida Revolution has an interest all its own.

RUFUS KAY WYLLYS.

University of California
at Berkeley.

¹²⁰ Brevard, *History of Florida*, I. 31.

THE CORREGIDOR IN SPANISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION¹

Little or no attention has been paid to the *corregidor* in the study of Spanish colonial administration. This important official ranked with the three highest officers in America: the viceroys, the *oidores*, and the governors. In the *Recopilación de Leyes* we read:

For the better and more satisfactory government of the Western Indies, those possessions and kingdoms have been divided into large and small provinces, the larger of which include many other districts and have been placed under our royal audiencias while the smaller ones have their own governors. The others where . . . it has not been deemed necessary or convenient to establish a seat of government or to appoint a governor, have been placed under *corregidores* or *alcaldes mayores* entrusted with the government of the cities therein and their dependencies. The same has been done in the case of the principal Indian towns, which have been made the seat of government for the smaller ones.²

Furthermore, Manuel Romero de Terreros says:

In colonial days the office of corregidor of Mexico was of considerable importance, for he who held this position could consider himself the most important person in New Spain after the viceroy and the members of the audiencia.³

It is evident from these statements that the corregidor occupied an important position in the administration of the Spanish colonies. Designed primarily for the welfare of the

¹ The present paper was undertaken at the suggestion of Dr. J. Lloyd Mecham, of the University of Texas, to whose kind encouragement and helpful advice due acknowledgment is made.

² *Recopilación de las Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* (Madrid, 1756) book V, tit. I, law I.

³ *Los Corregidores de México* (Madrid, 1917), p. 3.

smaller governmental units, this important official, because of the peculiar conditions that existed in America, came to be the source of serious and far-reaching abuses. The titular protector of the Indians, he soon became their greatest curse, for the defenseless natives were powerless against his insatiable greed. So grave were the consequences of his misgovernment that it was finally necessary to change the entire colonial system of administration and introduce the intendencies in order to correct the many evils caused by the corregidores.

This fact has been generally ignored, but we cannot doubt that it was one of the fundamental causes for the administrative reforms that were introduced in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, for the Marquis of Sonora clearly brings it out in his general report made to the viceroy of Mexico on December 31, 1771:

In the plan framed with the approval of the Marquis de Croix, and which your Majesty has been pleased to approve by royal order on August 10, 1769, providing for the establishment of intendencies in New Spain, I described, with all clearness and in the light of past experience, the evils caused by the corregidores and *alcaldes mayores* in the provinces. The number of these officials in this *audiencia* and that of Guadalajara is about two hundred. Reduced to the hard necessity of securing the indispensable means to maintain themselves in office, satisfy their planned desires, and accumulate some wealth before retiring, they generally do not overlook any means, however unjust or extraordinary, that may be conducive to the accomplishment of their ends. Since they cannot attain their desire without evident harm to the interests of the king and of his vassals, they are equally prejudicial to the king's treasury and to his people.⁴

After explaining in detail the fundamental evils arising from the abuses of the corregidores and pointing out how they can be corrected by the establishment of intendencies, he says:

⁴ *Informe General que en virtud de Real Orden instruyó y entregó el Exmo. Sr. Marqués de Sonora, . . . al Excmo. Sr. Virrey Frey D. Antonio Bucarely y Ursua* (Mexico, 1867), pp. 17-18.

It will be more satisfactory and practicable for the chief executive of this kingdom [New Spain] to have under his immediate orders twelve *intendentes*, carefully chosen, whose character is above reproach, than to have to suffer and contend with two hundred wretches who, with their empty titles of judges, have come to constitute an independent judicial sphere, wherein, driven by their greed, they work out their own fortunes at the expense of the royal treasury and the ruin of the people.⁵

If this officer, heretofore practically unnoticed, was important enough to cause Charles III. to change the entire colonial system of administration, after almost two hundred and fifty years of successful operation, his office and powers deserve to be studied. Beginning in remote times as a special agent of the king in judicial matters, he came to be invested with administrative powers, until by the time of the discovery of America, he had taken his place by the side of the governors and adelantados.

As a judicial officer his origin may be traced back to Roman times, when he was usually known as *Praesis Provinciae*. He was then a royal officer, appointed as the personal representative of the king and invested with supreme authority over all ordinary judges in a given district. He had, at this time, no set term of office or salary, but was generally commissioned to act as a special agent of the king in a stipulated case. His commission and powers ended with the settlement of the case in hand. At that time the *alcaldes* were the regular judicial officers, holding office for a definite period of time.⁶ The first to use the term *corrector*, from which *corregidor* is derived, was Emperor Constantine. It was not until the time of Alfonso XI., however, that the term came into general use in Spain, and the office assumed permanent characteristics, the *corrector* being then appointed to serve for a given period of time.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁶ Castillo de Bovadilla, *Politica para corregidores, y senores de vasallos, en tiempo de paz y de guerra* (Madrid, 1775), I. book I, chap. II.

So that until this time there were no corregidores in Spain properly speaking, such as we have now. There were only *alcaldes*, natives of the towns and appointed by them. . . . The corregidores were then sent as commissioners in keeping with and according to the laws governing the first republics of the world under a supreme authority.⁷

It was not until the time of Ferdinand and Isabella that the corregidor became a political officer. Their Catholic majesties were the first to send out corregidores with powers as governors. They not only invested this judicial officer with administrative powers, but appointed him to serve for a year, thus fixing his term of office for the first time and giving it permanence. The time could be extended by reappointment for one, two, or three years at the king's pleasure. Endowed with administrative duties, the corregidor now took the place of the *alcalde* in the *villas* and *pueblos*, the latter having been elected locally before this time. With the changed status of the corregidor, that official replaced the local *alcalde* and his office became appointive and dependent upon the king. The innovation was justified legally by claiming that the principal functions of the corregidor were judicial, that the king was the highest judge in the kingdom, and that ever since the time of the Caesars, it had been the inalienable right of the supreme head of the state to appoint the highest local judges.⁸

The villa or pueblo retained just a vestige of its former power of election. In case of death, if the corregidor had no *teniente*, the *regimiento* or *cabildo* might elect a temporary corregidor.⁹ The king had to be notified immediately in order that he might confirm the election by royal appointment or provide otherwise. Cities far removed from the seat of government, as were those in the Indies, were granted the same

⁷ *Ibid.*, I. p. 17.

⁸ *Ibid.*, book I, chap. III.

⁹ It is interesting to note that in the *Leyes de Indias*, the terms "regimiento", "cabildo", and "ayuntamiento" are used interchangeably. The first of these is the oldest term for city council and is undoubtedly related to *regidor* (regent, or ruler), usually applied to the members of the *regimiento* or *cabildo*.

privilege of electing a temporary corregidor in case of death, even if there were a *teniente*. With the erection of vicroyalties and captaincies general, the power of appointment came to be exercised exclusively by the viceroy, the governor, or the captain general as the king's representatives. The king retained the right of appointment to the more important *corregimientos*. Those which could be appointed only by the king are enumerated in the *Leyes de Indias*. Chief among these were the corregidores for Cuzco, Caxamarca, Villa de Santiago, San Marcos, Collaguas, Villa de Ica, Arequipa, Guamanga, San Miguel Piura, and Castro Virreyna in Peru; and Ciudad de Mexico and Nuestra Señora de los Zacatecas in New Spain. All the rest could and were, as a matter of fact, appointed by the viceroys, governors, and captains general.¹⁰

In name, the office of corregidor remained primarily a judicial office, but in practice it assumed administrative and legislative powers. Judicially, the corregidor was considered a royal magistrate, who exercised "jurisdicción alta y baxa, y mero y mixto imperio". He carried the *vara de justicia* as an insignia of his high office. He was second only to the king in judicial matters within the district to which he was assigned.¹¹ Only men of high social standing, or recognized nobility and well established character, were appointed to this office at first. In theory, the fundamental prerequisites were to be *hijodalgo*, both on the mother's and father's side, and to be *cristiano viejo*.¹² This was strictly observed in the early days, but with the rapid growth of the dominions overseas, the vigilance was relaxed. Men of dubious character, without competent resources to keep up the dignity of the office, and utterly unscrupulous, were often appointed to the position. Such men had no other end or purpose than to enrich themselves, and since the term of office came to be fixed at five years in the majority of corregimientos in the new world, the corregidores

¹⁰ *Recopilación de Leyes*, book V, tit. II, law I.

¹¹ Bovadilla, *Política para corregidores*, book I, chap. III.

¹² *Ibid.*, book I, chap. IV.

spared no means while in power to exact the last penny from the poor Indians within their jurisdiction.

In case of death or removal from office for just cause, the viceroy had the right to appoint a successor.¹³ Those who received their appointment directly from the king in Spain were required to take an oath before the council of the Indies before embarking for America.¹⁴ If the person appointed were living in America, he held office for three years, but if he were residing in Spain at the time of the appointment, his term was five years.¹⁵ Though no reason is given for the longer term granted to those who had to come from Spain, it is easy to see the purpose of the provision in the law. The expenses involved in the long trip and the unavoidable difficulties attendant upon the removal of the household did not have to be undergone by those in America. The term of office did not end, however, at the expiration of the time stipulated but upon the arrival of the successor. If no one arrived to succeed him, the corregidor continued to exercise his jurisdiction. The corregimiento was compelled to recognize his authority until his successor arrived.¹⁶ The *teniente* succeeded him in case of death and continued to exercise his power until the arrival of the new *corregidor*.¹⁷ Should the successor arrive before the expiration of the time stipulated in the appointment of the *corregidor* in office, the latter was to serve out his term. The term of office of a *corregidor* legally ended with the presentation of the appointment by the new *corregidor*. Up to that time, the incumbent in office had full jurisdiction and power, and was entitled to receive the corresponding emoluments.¹⁸ The viceroys and audiencias were specially charged not to remove the *corregidores* without just cause, nor to fill vacancies,

¹³ *Recopilación de Leyes*, book V, tit. II, law IV.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, book V, tit. II, law VII.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, book V, tit. II, law X.

¹⁶ Alonso de Villadiego Vasconia y Montoya, *Instrucción Política y Practica judicial conforme al Estilo de los Consejos* (Madrid, 1766), p. 147.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

but to leave those appointed by the king to serve out their term or to continue in office until new provision was made.¹⁹ As the corregidor had more than one teniente at times, particularly if there were several cities within his jurisdiction, in case of death each teniente assumed full power in his own city, without being subject in any way to the teniente residing in the principal city or seat of the corregimiento. They exercised full and independent jurisdiction each within his own respective district until a new corregidor was duly appointed, who in turn could appoint new tenientes or confirm those in office.²⁰ It is of interest to note that in the towns where there was an alcalde mayor and a teniente in addition to the corregidor, in case of death of the latter, the teniente and not the alcalde mayor exercised the power and duties of the corregidor.²¹

The installation in office of the new corregidor was minutely provided for by the laws of the Indies and established by custom. The new appointee had to notify the incumbent in office of his appointment in writing and to tell him when he expected to arrive. He was carefully advised, however, that, in order to avoid unnecessary ceremony and pomp, he should try to arrive unexpectedly a short time before the expiration of his predecessor's term. He was warned not to exercise his jurisdiction or enter into the duties of his office until he was duly installed and given the *vara de justicia*.²² As soon as the new corregidor arrived, the old one had to call on him and arrange to convene the corregimiento the next day for the formal presentation of the royal order of appointment. The corregimiento being convened, the old corregidor escorted the new one into the hall and seated him on the left, while his teniente sat on his right. The new appointee then presented his commission and any other royal provisions he had with any cédulas he might hold. These were read by the secretary,

¹⁹ *Recopilación de Leyes*, book III, tit. II, law IV.

²⁰ Villadiego, *Instrucción Política*, p. 260.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 148.

who handed them to the outgoing corregidor. He took them and placed them over his head in token of his submission to the sovereign's will. He then kissed them and gave them to the eldest member of the corregimiento, who went through the same ceremony for the entire body. Having done this, the acting corregidor officially delivered his *vara de justicia* to his successor. The new corregidor proceeded to appoint a new *teniente* and an *alguacil*. The accustomed oath to uphold the law was then taken and a record of the proceedings made on the minute book of the corregimiento, and this was signed by both corregidores. The eldest member of the corregimiento then demanded bond of the new corregidor for his *residencia*, and he was allowed thirty days to give it. The session over, the new corregidor accompanied his predecessor to his home.²³

As stated before, the office of corregidor was, generally speaking, judicial. He was a royal magistrate with power to act in all legal disputes, to punish all infractions of the law, and to put into execution all measures conducive to good government. He superseded all judicial officers within his jurisdiction and had power over all of them. In many respects he had the same powers as an adelantado.²⁴

The personal virtues and characteristics necessary for the discharge of such an important office are enlarged upon in the various commentaries to the laws of the Indies. In these it is pointed out that a good corregidor must have those personal attributes which are essential to the ideal judge, such as kindness, modesty, impartiality, a high sense of honor, wisdom, prudence, and circumspection. He was warned against being talkative or fond of display or witty or revengeful. Above all things he was warned never to be unfair or improper. He should never receive or accept any gifts or favors which might be construed as bribes. A knowledge of law was advisable though not indispensable for the appointment to the office. If

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 148; *Recopilación de Leyes*, book V, tit. II, laws VIII and IX.

²⁴ Villadiego, *Instrucción Política*, p. 148.

a corregidor were not acquainted with law, he had to appoint a teniente who was versed in legal matters so that the latter might act as his judicial adviser.²⁵

Certain restrictions were placed upon the corregidor to prevent him from using his office for the illegal acquisition of property. While in office he could not buy or build a house within his jurisdiction. He could not establish an estate or build a ship during his term of office.²⁶ He could not engage in trade either personally or through a third person, but he could buy the necessary things for his household. He could compel those who had grain and other foodstuffs to sell them to him at the current market prices, but he was not to be held responsible for debts contracted by members of his household, unless these were contracted at his written request. In the public announcement or *bando*, which he was supposed to make upon entering office, he had to state clearly that no credit was to be given to any of his servants or members of his household.²⁷

The corregidor could not contract marriage with any resident within his jurisdiction while in office, without a special dispensation from the king. His male children were likewise forbidden from contracting marriage within the jurisdiction, but the daughters were not affected by this prohibition.²⁸

The wife of the corregidor held a privileged position, for she enjoyed the same dignities and privileges as her husband. He was not responsible for debts contracted by her if he declared in his public announcement at the beginning of his term that he desired no credit to be extended to any member of his household.²⁹

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 154-155, 168.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165; *Recopilación de Leyes*, book V, tit. II.

²⁸ Villadiego, *Instrucción Política*, pp. 164-165; *Recopilación de Leyes*, book V, tit. II.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

As has already been noted, the corregidor enjoyed the right of appointing a teniente to help him in legal matters and to take his place in case of absence. This right became a duty in the case of a corregidor who was not versed in law,³⁰ but the choice was left entirely to the corregidor, except that he could not name a relative to that office, nor could he sell the office to the highest bidder. He was warned to exercise great care in the selection of his teniente; for, having selected him, he had to keep him for the entire term of office unless there was just and powerful cause for removal. The two crimes for which a teniente could be discharged were bribery or serious offenses.³¹ Though the corregidor had the sole right of appointment, he did not have the sole right of removal, for the teniente could be removed only with the consent of the council. It is particularly stated that the corregidor could not withhold from his teniente either all or part of his salary in return for his appointment; indeed, heavy penalties were imposed on those who made any offers to the corregidor for the appointment. If any person was found guilty of this crime, he was to be fined three times the amount offered and disqualified from holding office; and in extreme cases he could be banished for ten years.³²

The relations between the corregidor and the teniente were not always friendly. Not infrequently we find the two officials clashing as to jurisdiction, appealing at times to the audiencia itself. In the middle of the seventeenth century, we find Don Alonso Alaves, who was teniente to the corregidor of Mexico City, one of the leading jurists of his day, protesting energetically before the audiencia against the ruling of the corregidor in a certain case. It appears that the case had been brought up before Alaves while he was acting as teniente. The party suing was not satisfied with the decision rendered and appealed to the corregidor, whereupon the latter declared that

³⁰ Bovadilla, *Política de Corregidores*, book I, chap. XVI.

³¹ Villadiego, *Instrucción Política*, pp. 169, 173.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 186-187.

Alaves had no jurisdiction in the case because he had been attorney for one of the parties in litigation. Alaves protested that his having acted as attorney for one of the parties in another case did not disqualify him in the present, which had no relation whatsoever with the former, other than the fact of his former client being involved.³³

Turning to the general duties of the corregidor, we find that the first injunction placed upon him was to observe all the provisions of his appointment and the general rules and regulations that applied to his office. As the new corregidor usually acted as the judge of the residencia of his predecessor, his first duty was to issue a public declaration or *pregón* concerning the findings of the residencia and laying down the principles of good government which he expected to observe and enforce during his administration. In the assembly hall of the regimiento, the corregidor was to have a seat higher than that of any regidor in keeping with the dignity of his office. He was enjoined to hold public court frequently, to see that the poor were fed and that the vagabonds were forced to work under penalty of banishment from the district, to punish the guilty, to honor the virtuous, to keep the rich from oppressing the poor, and to be impartial in all his dealings.³⁴

In matters pertaining to the welfare of his district, he was to consult the regimiento or the king whenever in doubt. He was to prohibit all forms of gambling within his jurisdiction and to prevent money lenders from charging usurious interest. Night shows and immoral plays were to be prohibited, and day shows not allowed to remain too long at once place. In those cases which were not covered by his instructions or by the law he was to observe common usage and practice. The king and his council were not to be consulted except in very serious cases.³⁵

³³ "Defensa de jurisdicción de el teniente de Corregidor", MS. in the García Collection, University of Texas.

³⁴ Villadiego, *Instrucción Política*, pp. 149-150.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-152.

An order from the king or his council had precedence over law or common usage, and it had to be put into execution without delay. Failure to observe a royal order at once brought upon the corregidor the penalty which he was ordered to impose upon the culprit. When the royal order was an open and obvious violation of human and divine law, the corregidor could delay the execution by remonstrating against it, but if a second order were issued he had no choice in the matter. All such orders had to be acknowledged, though the execution could be delayed in case a remonstrance were made.³⁶ These regulations show the absolute power of the king arising from the theory of divine right.

The corregidor was expected to inspect the boundaries of his jurisdiction, though he did not have to do it in person, for he could send his *teniente* in his place. No charge was to be made for this service, nor for the *visitas* which he was obliged to make to the various villas and pueblos within his jurisdiction. The *visitas*, like the inspection of the boundaries of his district, could be made by the *teniente*, but in neither case could any extra charge be made upon the people for this service.³⁷

Before taking up his duties as judge, it is well to note that the corregidor collected certain royal revenues. Certain fees and fines were to be turned over to the king's treasury. Furthermore, he had to collect certain revenues which went to the *hacienda fiscal*. It was his duty to keep a special book in which all the fees imposed and collected for the royal treasury were set down. All such funds had to be turned over to the *receptor* who kept a similar book. The corregidor was forbidden to use this money and heavy penalties were prescribed for his failure to observe this injunction.³⁸ That this restriction was a dead letter, we shall see when we discuss his abuses.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 185, 277.

While holding court he was not to permit idle words or the use of abusive language. Every person was to be allowed to speak at the appointed time, but no one was to speak out of turn. When any person spoke the corregidor was to allow no interruptions. During court no notary or other person was to be allowed to whisper anything to the corregidor, for such an incident could give rise to a wrong interpretation of the motive. The corregidor was to order the alguaciles [deputies] and the notaries to be present at court. If a defendant was unable to provide his own counsel, the corregidor was to supply him with an attorney. He was warned not to delay the course of justice. He was advised to give first consideration to cases involving orphans, helpless and destitute persons, foreigners, and widows. A temporary opinion had to be rendered on all cases six days after all the evidence had been presented, and a final decision made within twenty days.³⁹

In all judicial matters he was advised

to look well as to what he provides, to see that his action is justified and directed to the accomplishment of justice,⁴⁰

for once a decision was given it was irrevocable. Being the highest judge within his jurisdiction, he was to coöperate with all other judicial officers, particularly with the *juez pesquisidor* or special investigation judge. If such an officer should exceed the powers granted him by his special commission, the corregidor could have him arrested. In such cases, however, it was advisable that the council be immediately advised of the reasons that prompted such a measure.⁴¹

Friction between the corregidor and the pesquisidor must have been common, and the latter must have used his special powers to oust the former, for special care is taken to state that no pesquisidor may be appointed corregidor of the district where he has carried out a special investigation. On the

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

other hand, the corregidor was in duty bound to carry out what the pesquisidor ordered and to arrest such delinquents as he named, even if convinced of their innocence.⁴²

Whenever ecclesiastic and civil jurisdiction clashed, the corregidor was to exercise extreme tact and diplomacy, and to show marked deference and respect for the ecclesiastical judge. If the latter took unjust or unfair action against the acts of the corregidor in any given case, he was to report the whole matter to the chancery or the council, giving in detail an account of all he had done in the matter. Such an appeal had to be made at the earliest opportunity, in order that the council might have full information of the case beforehand.⁴³

Neither the corregidor nor his teniente could sit as judges in any case to which they were a party, nor could either act as his own attorney.⁴⁴

Important as the judicial powers and duties of the corregidor were, his legislative duties were still more important. Little or no attention has been paid to this phase of his activities. The corregidor could pass ordinances affecting local administration, and these had the same force as law; but to frame such ordinances, it was necessary that two-thirds of the regimiento be present. Both in the *Leyes de Indias* and in the various commentaries we find it clearly stated that the legislative functions of the regimiento were dependent upon the corregidor on the one hand and on its own organization on the other, the former representing the king and the latter the people.⁴⁵ The corregidor could make regulations pertaining to judicial matters without the consent or the intervention of the regimiento, but in all other matters, the two had to act together. This illustrates the dual character of the legislative power in the regimiento or city council.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 75.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 190; *Recopilación de Leyes*, book V, tit. II.

The method of procedure to be followed in framing legislation is given in detail. The corregidor proposed to the regimiento the ordinances to be considered or amended. Thus the right of initiating legislation was vested in the corregidor. The measures proposed by him were then discussed freely by the regimiento; and if approved by a majority, two-thirds of the members being necessary for a quorum, the ordinances were written in the minutes and a copy sent to the council as a matter of record and for confirmation. Upon receipt of the confirmation, the new ordinance was publicly announced through the town crier, and the measure became effective within the entire jurisdiction of the corregidor.⁴⁶ The council usually approved all such ordinances unless they encroached upon the prerogatives of the king or were opposed to any of the existing laws. Thus the corregidor and the regimiento had full legislative power in all local affairs such as irrigation, labor conditions, public works, street regulations, and various other matters.

The vote of the corregidor was equal to the votes of the entire regimiento, for the two were taken to be individual units, all the members of the corregimiento being considered collectively as one. Thus in case of disagreement between the regimiento and the corregidor, the latter's vote could suspend the measure from being approved. It then had to be submitted to the royal council which had the deciding vote in the matter. This was true only of ordinances, however, affecting the welfare of the entire district; for in the case of measures affecting only the immediate locality where the regimiento sat, a majority of votes on the part of the regidores was sufficient to make the ordinance effective. In all such cases, the reasons of the corregidor for opposing the measure were to be included in the minutes of the session and the votes of the regidores recorded pro and con. But if an ordinance affecting local administration were passed unanimously by the regimiento

⁴⁶ Villadiego, *Instrucción Política*, pp. 190-191.

against the opposition of the corregidor, the latter could require that it should be recorded in the minutes of the session with a statement that the measure had been approved by all the regidores but not by the ayuntamiento or regimiento, as that would include him.⁴⁷

The ayuntamiento could not convene without an order from the corregidor. He had to be present at all meetings either in person or through a representative, usually his teniente. He (or his representative) could not absent himself from a meeting even when he was the subject of discussion, for fear that in such absence the regimiento might conspire against the king.⁴⁸

The regimiento was allowed full freedom in the election of its members and such officers as it had the right to elect. The corregidor had no right to use his influence in securing the election of any person, but he had to abide by the choice of the regimiento.⁴⁹

It was provided that if the corregidor failed to carry out a royal order or command from the king, the regimiento could in such cases assume executive power and put the order into execution without the intervention of the corregidor. The corregidor was so powerful, however, that we have come across no instance where the regimiento exercised such a power or forced the corregidor to carry out a royal order or fulfill his instructions.⁵⁰

In addition to the judicial and legislative powers discussed, the corregidor had certain supervisory duties which were very important. He was to see that there was a good supply of bread within his jurisdiction. He had the right to regulate the price of grain in order to keep profiteers from making undue profits. In time of famine or shortage, he could prohibit the exportation of grain from his district and compel

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 261.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 192-194; *Recopilación de Leyes*, book IV, tit. X.

⁵⁰ Villadiego, *Instrucción Política*, p. 193.

those who had any to sell it to the people within his jurisdiction at a just and reasonable price.⁵¹

It was his duty to inspect the meat markets and to see that only good meat was sold. He was supposed to make a visit daily, and he had the right to condemn any meat which in his judgment was unfit to be sold. Such meat was to be taken out of the town and buried officially to prevent its being distributed surreptitiously. This important article of food was to be sold only in official meat markets. He was to inspect likewise all vegetables brought to market and condemn any which were too old or in any way unfit for use. The same supervision was to be exercised over milk which, it seems, was even at that time adulterated by the addition of water. Wine and oil were in those days important articles of food. The corregidor was supposed to inspect both articles and if the oil were rancid or too dirty, he would condemn it, while the wine had also to be in good condition.⁵²

The corregidor could and did regulate the price of all food-stuffs within his jurisdiction. He could not exercise this power in regard to general merchandise, however. It is easy to see that with so many duties and powers, the opportunities for abuse were indeed great.

As if the duties enumerated were not enough, the corregidor had still to maintain the streets, as well as the plazas and public buildings, and the disposal of waste and garbage. The streets were to be paved whenever possible with cobble stones.⁵³ That the corregidores did this part of their duty well is proven by the number of old cobble stone streets which the traveler encounters today in the little towns and villas of Mexico.

Having noted the powers and duties of the corregidor, let us now turn to his salary and fees. A corregidor was to re-

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-196; *Recopilación de Leyes*, book V, tit. II.

⁵² Villadiego, *Instrucción Política*, pp. 200-201; *Recopilación de las Leyes de las Indias*, book V, tit. II.

⁵³ Villadiego, *Instrucción Política*, p. 201.

ceive the salary assigned him in his appointment, but if no sum was stipulated, he was to receive the same amount as his predecessor.⁵⁴ In the case of the more important corregimientos the salary was relatively high. For example, the corregidor of Mexico City received 500,000 maravedis (about 2,500 pesos); the corregidor of Cuzco received 3,000 pesos of pure silver; the corregidor of Villa de Santiago received 1,000 pesos; the corregidor of San Marcos, 1,500 pesos; the corregidor of Guamanga, 2,000 pesos.⁵⁵ But in the average corregimiento the salary was not sufficient to compensate the corregidor for the trouble and expense of going to America. In case of death while in office, his heirs had the right to demand the complete salary for the full time of his appointment even if he had served only a month.⁵⁶ The same privilege was enjoyed by the teniente.

In case of removal of either of the two officials for a justified cause, his salary was prorated to the time of removal. Though the corregidor was allowed to absent himself from his jurisdiction for a period of ninety days each year, he was required to secure permission from the regimiento before taking such leave, even when illness and the necessity of medical treatment made his absence imperative. Failure to observe this regulation was sufficient cause for the suspension of his pay for the period of his absence. Should he overstay his leave, he could be penalized by the loss of his salary during the period of illegal absence. The practice of absenting themselves from their jurisdictions must have been common, for we find heavy penalties imposed for this irregularity. For every day in excess of the ninety allowed by law with the consent of the regimiento, he was to be fined double the amount of his pay per day. Furthermore, to overstay his leave of absence was sufficient cause for his tenure of office to cease.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁵⁵ *Recopilación de Leyes*, book V, tit. II, law I.

⁵⁶ Villadiego, *Instrucción Política*, p. 158.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

However, if he were absent on a special mission of the council, the audiencia, the chancery, or the king, the limit of ninety days prescribed by the law was not effective and he enjoyed his full salary regardless of the time he was away. During any and all absences the corregidor had to leave a teniente in his place. This officer was to exercise the same authority as the corregidor in his absence. All the other judicial officers were obliged to recognize him as the representative of the corregidor.⁵⁸

As early as 1536, we find a royal cédula, addressed to the audiencia of New Spain, commanding that the corregidores be made to live within their jurisdictions, and that they be not allowed to leave their districts under any consideration.⁵⁹ Each corregidor was allowed to choose the seat of his government when there was more than one town within his jurisdiction; but in all such cases he could reside wherever he thought best.⁶⁰

The corregidor could not borrow money from any person within his jurisdiction, nor could he lend to any one. The acceptance of gifts or favors of any kind for the expedition of business was strictly prohibited. Violation of either of these regulations was sufficient cause for removal.⁶¹

At the expiration of his term of office, a residencia was held by the special judge sent for the purpose. Customarily, the successor conducted the residencia. The judge who was to conduct the residencia trial presented his credentials to the ayuntamiento and demanded that the corregidor and his officers obey the instructions of the king. The corregidor took the orders as the head of the ayuntamiento, placed them over his head, and kissed them in token of his submission to the

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁵⁹ *Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas de Ultramar* (Madrid), 2nd series, X. (1897), 316-317.

⁶⁰ Villadiego, *Instrucción Política*, p. 159.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-161.

royal will. The secretary then read the orders and instructions, and the corregidor, the teniente, and the alguaciles declared their readiness to obey the king's command. After this ceremony the corregidor delivered the *vara de justicia* to the residencia judge.⁶²

At the same meeting, or at one called not later than three days after this ceremony, the residencia judge read his special commission, which was recorded in the minutes of the ayuntamiento. The *procurador general* then demanded a bond from the residencia judge if the latter were to succeed the corregidor in office. The trial of the residencia was limited to thirty days. The corregidor was first required to give an account of all his acts while in office. Then all who had any complaints against him were asked to present them. All secret and public complaints had to be presented before the expiration of the fifteenth day. The next five days were used for the formal presentation of the charges that resulted from the evidence collected. The last ten days were to be used for the disposal of the cases brought up. After the expiration of the first twenty days of the residencia, no new charges or evidence could be presented.⁶³ The expenses of the residencia were borne by the council, to which an accurate and detailed account of all expenses incurred had to be submitted for its approval.⁶⁴

In case of death before the expiration of his term, the corregidor was succeeded by his teniente, who discharged all his duties until a new corregidor arrived. Before turning the office over to the new appointee, the teniente had to undergo a residencia trial, not only for the period which he served as corregidor, but for the administration of his superior.⁶⁵

From the theoretical powers and duties of the corregidor it is evident that his range was vast and the possibilities for

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 272-296.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

abuse correspondingly great. This was particularly true of the corregidores in distant districts where all those who were within their jurisdiction were in the main Indians. In Peru, particularly, abuses date from the earliest times. In 1622, in a memorial on needed reforms in that kingdom, we read:

The corregidores in that kingdom are like locusts in Castile. Wherever they go they consume everything and lay waste the land. All the Indian corregimientos, and there are many, each one covering a large area, have royal funds in deposit controlled by the corregidores. There are deposits amounting to more than 100,000 ducats and even more, which rightfully belong to the royal treasury, but in spite of this fact such funds are never sent to Castile for your Majesty to dispose of it as you see fit. On the contrary, it is kept as the private capital of the corregidores who use it in their business and enterprises. Their business deals are of such magnitude that these officials should be called wholesale merchants rather than corregidores. Each one of them deals in the merchandise common to his respective district, while all of them introduce large quantities of wine to sell to the natives at excessive prices.⁶⁶

A common abuse among them was to force the Indians to work for them without remuneration, keeping the poor natives from tending their own fields. Furthermore, they forced the Indians to sell their grain and produce at prices below the market value and then shipped these products to other districts where there was a shortage, making enormous profits. Both of these practices are specifically condemned in the *Leyes de Indias* and heavy penalties imposed on those who were found guilty of them; but as the judges of the residencias were paid a handsome sum, practically all the corregidores were acquitted without a blemish.

The *Memorial* already cited continues:

⁶⁶ Juan de Aponte Figueroa, *Memorial que trata de la Reformación del Reino del Pirú*, in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España* (Madrid), LI. (1867), 324-326.

The corregidores have opened gambling houses which they run personally and publicly. They lend money to the gamblers, and this is the cause of the ruin of many persons who lose their estates and their honor.⁶⁷

Another common practice of the corregidores which we find mentioned was to have the silver made into beautiful ornaments and plate by the natives who, as is well known, were excellent silversmiths. These articles were then sold at high and profitable rates by the corregidores. Moreover, they bought the raw silver without paying the corresponding tribute to the crown and sold the finished product without paying any tax, thus depriving the crown of the legal impost on raw metals, silver plate, and ornaments.⁶⁸

Describing the various methods employed by the corregidores to amass large fortunes during their term of office, we find the following statements in the *Noticias Secretas de América*:

Many are the means employed by the corregidores to enrich themselves at the expense of the Indians. Among these, one may begin with the collection of tribute. . . . In the province of Quito it is done in one of two ways: in the name of the king, or in the name of the corregidor. When done by the latter the public crier announces the collection of tribute and the contract for collecting it is then awarded to the highest bidder who is usually the corregidor himself. He assumed no other obligation than to turn over to the *Caja Real*, the lump sum stipulated in the contract on the dates when each third falls due. He does not have to give a detailed account of the actual amount collected. They force minors to pay tribute as well as those who are past fifty-five, the age limit for the paying of tribute. . . . Some Indians are forced to pay tribute twice. This is the case when an Indian does not have a permanent residence. He is forced to pay his personal tribute several times over by the collectors of the corregidor in the various sections within his jurisdiction where the Indian may be found.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

The iniquity practiced against the Indians is still greater when it comes to judicial trials. These judges desire nothing more than a suit or complaint to leave the parties involved completely ruined . . . either with fines, or through fees; they succeed in obtaining from the rightful owner his mule, his cow, or whatever other property he may own. This endless extortion has reduced the people to such misery that it cannot be compared with that of the most wretched people in the world.

With the corregimiento of Loxa begins the inhuman system of *repartimientos*.⁶⁹ It is true that the corregidores are authorized to introduce into their corregimientos certain goods to be distributed among the natives at reasonable prices. The way this privilege has been interpreted, it deserves now no other name than that of the most tyrannical and horrible extortion that can be imagined.

The corregidor begins his administration by taking up a census of the Indians in every pueblo within his jurisdiction. While engaged in doing this he takes along with him the merchandise which he intends to distribute. He assigns to each Indian the amount and kind of goods which he thinks proper. He fixes the price of each article given in the most arbitrary manner. The Indians have no idea of what they have to pay for the merchandise received. After he had finished the distribution in a pueblo, he gives the cacique a list of the persons and of the goods assigned to each with their cost which he is to collect and for which he is personally responsible.⁷⁰

The report further explains in detail the great suffering endured by the Indians as a result of this system of *repartimiento* of merchandise. The Indians were required to pay the entire amount assigned them for the goods received within two and one-half years, at which time the corregidor made a new *repartimiento*, thus collecting twice from the Indians during his term of office for goods which the Indians had not ordered and in reality did not need and never used.

⁶⁹ *Repartimiento*, as used here does not have the generally accepted meaning of the distribution or apportionment of land and Indians to the conquistadores, as will be seen by the context of the remainder of the passage quoted.

⁷⁰ Jorge Juan y Antonio de Ulloa, *Noticias Secretas de América* (London, 1826), pp. 229-244.

The *repartimiento* was not limited to merchandise alone. The mules and other stock used for the transportation of the goods from pueblo to pueblo were assigned to the Indians at an arbitrary price after the goods were disposed of. The animals were in such a poor condition that they were generally practically useless. The Indians were forced to accept them, however. Any attempt to resist these injustices was severely punished.

As an example, an incident is cited in which five mules were assigned to an Indian chief. The animals were in such a deplorable condition that he refused to accept them. The agent of the corregidor tied them to the fence post of the Indian's house and left them there. Next morning, one of the mules was dead. The corregidor forced the Indian to pay for the five mules regardless of the circumstances.

The *Noticias Secretas* then discusses the methods used by the corregidores for their acquittal from the residencia trial. It seems that they sent special agents to the court of the viceroy, who interviewed the *juez de residencia* and came to some agreement before he set out for the jurisdiction of the corregidor. The judge of the residencia, whether appointed by the council of the Indies or by the viceroy, had to register or record his appointment with the secretary of the viceroy. It was generally agreed that the judge was to receive a certain present in consideration for a speedy and favorable residencia.

It is said that a certain viceroy of Peru who was fond of gardening and who would get up early in the morning to indulge his whim, was accosted one morning by a stranger who, mistaking him for his majordomo, proffered him a liberal sum to use his influence with the viceroy for the appointment of a certain man as *juez de residencia* and corregidor. The viceroy did not disclose his identity but gave definite instructions to his majordomo that all prospective corregidores or their agents be sent directly to him. When the viceroy turned over the reins of government to his successor after a period of

fourteen years, it is said that he had amassed one of the largest fortunes in Peru, though he had been a very honest administrator as a whole. This well illustrates the enormous income which was derived from the patronage or privilege of appointing *corregidores*.⁷¹

There was a certain town in Peru where the customary present given to the judge of the *residencia* and future *corregidor* was 4,000 pesos. It is said that in the office of the *corregidor* there was a bag containing 4,000 pesos which had not been opened for many years, because each *corregidor* handed it to his successor as a present, who, knowing that at the expiration of his term, he would have to pay a similar sum to his successor, kept it intact. Thus the bag had been handed down from *corregidor* to *corregidor* since time immemorial, no one troubling himself to rectify its contents, satisfied that he would have to pass it on to his successor at the appointed time.⁷²

Many efforts to improve conditions were made, but all were unavailing. Some of the reasons for the failure to cope with the situation can be easily deduced from the great number of powers and duties of the *corregidor*. Dealing with an ignorant and abject people, such as the Indians in America were, it is natural that unscrupulous men should exploit them to the limit and without fear of man or God. It was not until the entire system was abolished and the *intendentes* established, that some of the evils were corrected. This was not accomplished, however, until after two hundred and fifty years of misgovernment, during which time the poor Indian, the victim of such inhumane extortions, had been thoroughly broken in body and spirit. Such treatment must be a factor in the lack of ambition, and the passive, fatalistic attitude of the present-day Indian in Spanish America.

C. E. CASTAÑEDA.

Latin-American Librarian,
University of Texas.

⁷¹ Ricardo Palma, *Las mejores Tradiciones Peruanas* (Barcelona, n.d.), p. 307.

⁷² *Noticias Secretas de América*, pp. 259-261.

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS DISPUTE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ARGENTINA

The Falkland Islands lie about 300 miles due east of the Magellan Straits and 1,200 miles south of Buenos Aires in the South Atlantic Ocean. Most of these islands were bleak and barren and not well suited for colonization, but they were of considerable importance because of their spacious harbors and the rich fur-seal and whale fisheries in the waters surrounding them. The Falkland Islands had been a favorite resort for intrepid Yankee fishermen since shortly after the American Revolution.

This group of islands had been sighted first in 1592 by the daring English seaman, Captain Davies. Several names were given them during the years intervening from that time to this. They were given the name "Maiden Land" in 1594 by Captain Hawkins in honor of Queen Elizabeth, "Sebald Islands" by the Dutch seamen, Verhagen and Sebald de West, in 1598, and in 1689 they were given their present name by the Englishman Captain Strong. The French, in the early part of the eighteenth century, laid claim to the islands and started a settlement. They gave them the name "Malouines Islands" after the port of St. Malo, France, from which the colonists set sail. This name was adopted by the Spanish as the "Malvinas Islands".

Commodore Byron took formal possession of the Falkland Islands in the name of Great Britain on January 23, 1765, and a settlement was started at Port Egmont in 1766. This settlement was broken up in 1770 by a Spanish force sent out by the viceroy of Buenos Aires, but his action was disavowed by the Spanish government. Great Britain again took possession, but finding the Islands rather uninhabitable and a settlement unprofitable it abandoned the attempt in 1774, claiming, how-

ever, not to have relinquished possession. Robert Greenhow, writing on "The Falkland Islands" in 1842, stated that the government of Great Britain had unofficially agreed with the Spanish government to abandon the settlement at Port Egmont soon after being repossessed of it.¹

At this point the active political history of the Islands ceased until, in 1820, possession was formally taken in the name of the United Provinces of South America by Colonel D. Jewett, commanding the ancient frigate *Heroína*. The *Salem Gazette* of June 8, 1821, printed a circular letter received by Captain W. B. Orne of the schooner *General Knox* of Salem which had just returned from the Falkland Islands. This letter, sent from the national frigate *Heroína*, Port Soledad, Falkland Islands, on November 9, 1820, and signed by Colonel Jewett, stated:

Sir, I have the honor to inform you of my arrival at this port, to take possession of these Islands, in the name of the Supreme Government of the United Provinces of South America. This ceremony was publicly performed on the sixth day of this present November, and the National Standard hoisted at the Fort, under salute from this Frigate, in the presence of several citizens of the United States, and subjects of Great Britain.²

On November 9, 1820, Captain Jewett sent out a note advising the foreign governments of the ceremony spoken of above and, as no objection was ever received, the government of Buenos Aires appointed a governor for the Islands in 1823 and deeded tracts of land there to some of its citizens for the purpose of colonization. This attempt at colonization did not succeed and all the rights and duties under this decree reverted to the government.

Louis Vernet, French by birth but a naturalized citizen of Buenos Aires, came into the history of the Islands in 1824,

¹ Robert Greenhow, "The Falkland Islands", printed in Hunt's *Merchants' Magazine of Commerce*, February, 1842.

² *British and Foreign State Papers*, XX. 422 n.

and from that time on until Captain Duncan of the United States Navy broke up his settlement, he displayed the most dogged perseverance and considerable ability in his attempt to build up a colony there. Disappointments and obstacles caused several of his associates to give up the project, but Vernet put all of his energy into the task and was succeeding. At one time he had a colony of ninety people, and had made several valuable shipments of seal skins to Buenos Aires. He was, in fact, well on the way toward permanent success in his project. In 1828, the government of Buenos Aires issued a decree ceding the Islands, with a few small exceptions, to Vernet, giving him three years to establish a colony, exempting this colony from taxes, and giving it free use of the fisheries for a period of twenty years. The purpose of this decree, as stated in it, was to populate the Islands, utilize the fisheries, and provide a safe harbor for privateers (Argentina was at war with Brazil at that time).³ Vernet was thorough in his work, planning for a permanent settlement. He brought good livestock to the Islands and took pains to increase, as much as possible, the comfort of the colonists. He had a library in his own home and a piano on which his wife, a cultured Spanish lady, played to the delight of the residents in, and visitors to, Port Soledad.

On June 10, 1829, a decree was issued by the government of Buenos Aires which stated the grounds on which it claimed possession of the Falkland Islands, namely, that title passed from Spain to it because Spain had governed the Islands as a part of the Province of the Rio de la Plata, and when this province gained its independence from Spain all of the territory that had been under the viceroy at Buenos Aires passed to the new government. It was stated in the decree that although the circumstances of the revolution and the war with Brazil had prevented Buenos Aires from actively utilizing the Islands, it had, by several acts of sovereignty shown its inten-

³ *British and Foreign State Papers*, XX. 420.

tion to do so, and now, in order that the advantages which the Islands afforded might be enjoyed, and the protection which the inhabitants of the Islands needed and to which they were entitled be furnished, it was decreed that the Islands should be under the command of a political and military governor who should reside on Soledad Island, and that this political and military governor should cause the laws of the republic to be observed and provide for the due performance of the regulations respecting the seal fishery on the coasts. Louis Vernet was given this post. The regulations respecting the seal fishery on the coasts had been issued in a decree of October 22, 1821. They applied to the Patagonian coast, as first issued, and had provided for preferential duties on shipments of seal skins and other products of the fisheries in favor of the citizens of the Province of the Rio de la Plata. Other sections of the decree were intended to encourage fishermen from other countries to make settlements of a permanent nature on those coasts.⁴

It was the practice of the fishermen to land on the coasts of Falkland Islands and there to kill the seal by clubbing and other brutal methods, and to take such care of the skins thus obtained as would permit returning to their home ports in the United States or other countries to sell them. While on the islands these fishermen usually butchered some of the livestock which remained from the various attempts at colonization. In 1829 and again in 1830, under the authority of the decree of June 10, 1829, Vernet warned the *Harriet*, an American schooner, against the use of the shores and against the killing of the seals. When, therefore, in July, 1831, the *Harriet* was again found at the islands violating the regulations which Vernet had been instructed to enforce, he arrested Captain Davison and held his vessel and crew in Port Soledad. In the following month, Vernet arrested two other American vessels, the *Breakwater* and the *Superior*. The *Breakwater* soon

⁴ These two documents are found in *British and Foreign State Papers*, XX. 324 n and 421 n.

escaped and was brought to the United States by the crew. The *Harriet* was taken by Vernet to Buenos Aires for trial as a prize. The *Superior*, through agreements between Vernet and the captains of the captured vessels, had gone around Cape Horn to take advantage of some newly discovered fishing grounds. When the *Harriet* arrived at Buenos Aires, Captain Davison reported to the American consul there, George W. Slacum. There was no diplomatic representative of the United States in Buenos Aires at the time. Minister Rodney died in that city in 1824 and Chargé John M. Forbes died there just five months before the *Harriet* came into port under arrest. No one had as yet been appointed by the state department to fill the place of either man.

The *Harriet* arrived at Buenos Aires on November 20, 1831, and on the next day Consul Slacum wrote to the minister of foreign affairs expressing himself as being at a loss to know

upon what possible ground an American vessel, while engaged in a lawful trade, should be captured by an officer of a friendly government.⁵

The minister of foreign affairs replied on the twenty-fifth stating that the matter was being investigated in the proper way and nothing more could be said on the subject until a decision had been reached. It was here that the bluntness and lack of consideration often displayed by American foreign representatives came into evidence. Consul Slacum then wrote that the reply seemed to imply an avowal of the action of arresting the American vessel and,

It therefore only remains to him to deny *in toto* any such right, as having been, or being now vested in the Government of Buenos Aires . . . the Minister of Foreign Affairs will be pleased to receive this

⁵ This letter and all of the correspondence between the two governments during 1831 and 1832 are found in 'Papers relative to . . . the questions pending with the United States of America on the subject of the Malvinas Islands', Argentine Republic, Buenos Aires, 1832.

communication as a formal protest on the part of the Government of the United States . . . for the illegal and forcible seizure at the Falkland Islands aforesaid, by order of said Vernet, of the American schooner *Harriet*, as well as of the *Superior* and *Breakwater* . . . as also for the violent arrest and imprisonment of their officers and crews, American citizens, and for the consequences thereof.

To this blunt outburst the minister of foreign affairs replied that, "the communication of a consul cannot be received as a formal protest of the United States".

Just ten days after Captain Davison reported to Consul Slacum, the latter received a letter from Captain Duncan of the *Lexington*, an American naval vessel which had just anchored off the city. Captain Duncan had been stationed at Montevideo but upon the receipt of word from Consul Slacum of the arrest of the *Harriet* he hastened to Buenos Aires. He stated in his letter that he was going to proceed to the Falkland Islands to protect the citizens and commerce of the United States in the fisheries there. Slacum wrote to the minister of foreign affairs that Duncan would sail in three days unless he received a communication from the government of Buenos Aires suspending the right to capture American vessels. Duncan himself wrote to the minister of foreign affairs on December 7, requesting either the surrender of Vernet to the United States to be tried on a charge of piracy and robbery, or his arrest and punishment by the laws of Buenos Aires. The *Lexington* sailed for the Falkland Islands shortly before noon on the ninth of December and arrived there on the twenty-eighth. Duncan then spiked the cannon of the fort, destroyed the arms and ammunition of the colony, seized the property taken from the *Harriet* and the *Superior*, and arrested seven of the colonists whom he took to Montevideo where they were later set free. Witnesses declared that the *Lexington* entered the Port of Soledad under the French flag. Captain Duncan, also, posted a proclamation at the fort which declared that anyone who interfered with American fishing rights was a

pirate. The colony was as effectually destroyed as if it had been razed to the ground. The results of Vernet's tireless efforts were lost. Those were the circumstances which gave rise to claims of illegal and arbitrary action on the part of each government against the other. What did each government do?

The schooner *Breakwater* escaped from Vernet and came to the United States. The state department was notified by the crew of the *Breakwater* of the action of Vernet in arresting American vessels. President Jackson, in his message to congress on December 6, 1831, said:

In the course of the present year, one of our vessels engaged in the pursuit of a trade which we have always enjoyed without molestation has been captured by a band acting, as they pretend, under the authority of the Government of Buenos Aires.

He stated, further, that he had despatched a vessel to afford lawful protection to our commerce, and would send a minister to inquire into the nature of the circumstances and claims of that government.⁶ The vessel and the special instructions which were to govern the action of our naval forces did not arrive until after Captain Duncan had destroyed the colony at Port Soledad. Rather, he had acted under general instructions for the protection of our commerce and fisheries.⁷ Francis Baylies, sent as chargé d'affaires with special instructions from Secretary of State Livingston, did not succeed any better than Captain Duncan in acquiring the good will of the government of Buenos Aires or in reaching a solution of the problem. Baylies received three sets of instructions: the first dated January twenty-sixth, the next, February fourteenth, and the last, April third of the year 1832. Each set of instructions showed a little added knowledge of the circumstances of

⁶ *Register of Debates in Congress*, 22nd cong., 1st sess., Appendix, p. 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 22nd cong., 2nd sess., Appendix, p. 15. *Report of the Secretary of Navy*, December, 1832.

the case in the hands of the state department, but all showed a lack of adequate and reliable information.⁸

The instructions of January 26, showed that the information at hand at that date was simply that received from an affidavit of William Mitchell, probably of the schooner *Breakwater*. Baylies, in these instructions, was told that three American vessels had been captured by a "certain Vernet", who had acted under pretense of authority from the government of Buenos Aires by a decree dated about June 10, 1829. Vernet was stated to have claimed that these vessels had violated "some unknown laws" of the republic of Buenos Aires. If the decree was genuine, and if the government avowed Vernet's action, it should be pointed out to them that the representative of the United States in Buenos Aires, Mr. Forbes, should have been specially notified of the issuance of the decree, and that had not been done. Secretary Livingston expressed the belief that the pretense of a decree was a mere color for piratical acts. The secretary of the navy was ordered to send all the force he could command to those seas. The naval commander had orders to inquire into the authority for Vernet's acts, and if authorized by the government of Buenos Aires he should prevent further captures and retake those vessels already taken. Baylies, as chargé, was to show to the government of Buenos Aires the friendly spirit which dictated these orders, to secure our claims to the fisheries from further interruption, and to demand a disavowal of the acts of Vernet together with restoration of the property with indemnity. He was not to allow the incident to be an obstacle to the formation of a commercial treaty and was to secure a formal acknowledgment of our right to the fisheries and guarantee of the undisturbed exercise of that right thereafter. The remainder of the instructions were taken up with a statement of the claims of the United States to the fisheries and will be discussed later on in that connection.

⁸ See the instructions to Baylies in *Sen. Exec. Doc.*, 32nd cong., 1st sess., No. 109, p. 8.

By the decree of 1828, Vernet had been made director of the colony at the Falkland Islands, and in that capacity had the right to contract with the schooner *Superior* to go on the fishing trip to the Pacific. By the decree of June 10, 1829, which had been published in the official journals and the papers of Buenos Aires to which Chargé Forbes had access and which he should have examined, Vernet had been made governor of the colony and therefore had authority to arrest those violating the laws of Buenos Aires within the limits of his jurisdiction. To take a vessel, arrested under that authority, to Buenos Aires was the only means Vernet had for getting judicial action. The decree of June 10, 1829, stated that the regulations respecting the seal fisheries on the coast were to be enforced in the Falkland Islands. It did not reprint those regulations, but they could by no pretext be called "unknown laws".

Some doubt is cast on the validity of Vernet's authority by the fact that the government under Lavalle, a revolutionary leader, which issued the decree of June 10, 1829, was displaced shortly after that date by another revolutionary government. Lavalle's administration of the government was declared to be intrusive and all of its acts disavowed. Under these conditions the government of Buenos Aires might have tried to evade responsibility for the arrest of the *Harriet* and other vessels by disavowing the decree. This it did not do, nor did it formally declare that full responsibility was accepted by it until February 15, 1832, after Captain Duncan had returned from the Falkland Islands to Montevideo. The government did, however, in its first reply to Slacum say that it was investigating the incident and could do nothing more until that investigation had been completed. The uncertain element introduced by the existence of revolutionary governments may thus be used to try to justify the measures taken by the United States naval officer.

The instructions of February 14 were written after word had been received of the arrival of the *Harriet* at Buenos Aires, a prize of the governor of the Falkland Islands. Word had also been received of the sailing of the *Lexington* to the Falkland Islands with the avowed purpose of protecting our commerce and disarming the band there. Baylies was given the task of justifying this purpose should it be accomplished. This justification was to be on the general grounds of the lawless and piratical nature of Vernet's acts as shown by the protest of the captain of the *Harriet*. This protest recited as some of the lawless acts, the imprisonment of the crews, leaving part of the crew of one of the vessels on a desert island with insufficient provisions, and the forcing of other of the sailors into Vernet's service. The imprisonment of men arrested for violation of the law was not unusual. The men left on the desert island had been left there by the American vessel before its arrest and had provisions sufficient to last six months. The provisions were thought sufficient, at any rate, so that Captain Duncan did not deem it necessary to hurry immediately to their succor even though he had stated that to be one of his reasons for leaving Buenos Aires so soon after having given notice to the government of his intended departure. The men said to have been forced into Vernet's service were acting under a contract signed voluntarily by the captains of the *Harriet* and the *Superior*. They were under the command of Captain Congar of the *Superior* and certainly were not under any compulsion, other than the honor of Captain Congar, to return.

The instructions of April 3 were written after the receipt of Captain Duncan's statement regarding the incident and his part in it. The instructions were:

It is proper you should, as soon as possible, know that the President has signified to Captain Duncan that he entirely approves of his conduct, under the circumstances, which he details.

The details as given by Captain Duncan agree with those related in the two previous instructions.

Baylies reached Buenos Aires in June, 1832, and on the twentieth of that month he wrote to Don Manuel V. de Maza, minister of foreign affairs, reciting the circumstances of the case as he knew them from his instructions. He spoke of the failure of the government of Buenos Aires to notify Chargé Forbes of the decree of June 10, 1829. He denied, as had Consul Slacum seven months earlier, the right of Buenos Aires to make the arrest at all. He demanded restitution of the captured property, indemnity for such seized, sold, or destroyed, and indemnity for personal wrongs. Vernet was charged with piracy, even though Baylies must have known of the avowal of the arrests by the government of Buenos Aires. On July 10, Baylies wrote a second letter discussing at length the claims of Buenos Aires to sovereignty over the Falkland Islands. Beginning with the earliest discovery of the Islands, he traced their history, through their occupation in 1764 by the French under Bougainville, the subsequent sale of the colony to Spain in 1766, the establishment of a British colony at Port Egmont in that year, and the objections of the Spanish government. This British colony was taken over by a force sent out by the viceroy of Buenos Aires in 1770, but the Spanish government disavowed the act and returned the property and colony to the British. Baylies drew the conclusion from these facts that Spain had had no right to sovereignty over the Falkland Islands, and that, therefore, the government of Buenos Aires could not succeed to any sovereignty over them.

Following his instructions of January 26, Baylies then argued the right of citizens of the United States to the fisheries in question. His argument centered around four points: first, the perfect right of the United States to the free use of the fishery—on the ocean, in every part of it, and on the bays, arms of the sea, gulfs, and other inlets which are incapable of

being fortified; second, the same perfect right to the free use of the fishery within a marine league of the shore, when the shores are possessed by savage tribes, or are totally deserted, as they are to the south of Rio Negro; third, the perfect right to the free use of the shores when in the same situation as above; and fourth, even where a settlement exists and other circumstances would deprive the United States of the right, a constant and uninterrupted use will give it to us.

To the first of these arguments there could be few exceptions taken, nor was the second or the third argument subject to question except where some nation enjoyed sovereignty over those shores and the territorial waters. It was at this point that the question as to the right of Buenos Aires to sovereignty over the islands became pertinent. It was pointed out to Maza, not only that Spain had had no right to sovereignty over the Islands, but that the British government had protested the decree of June 10, 1829, through its chargé d'affaires at Buenos Aires, Woodbine Parish. This protest was dated November 19, 1829. This communication protested such assumption of sovereignty by the government of Buenos Aires and stated that Great Britain, in abandoning the colony at Port Egmont in 1774, had not relinquished title to the islands.⁹

If we should assume that no one had sovereignty over the Falkland Islands, then it would be clear that American citizens had a "perfect right" to the use of the shores and the fisheries. Under those circumstances the act of Vernet as an individual in a commercial enterprise arresting American vessels would be, as claimed by the United States, a piratical act. Remembering, however, the act of sovereignty by Colonel Jewett in 1820, the subsequent acts of the government of Buenos Aires, the much discussed decree of June 10, which at the time of Baylies's letter had been avowed by the government, together with the warnings given the *Harriet* during

⁹ *British and Foreign State Papers*, XX. p. 346.

the two previous years it becomes apparent that the argument of Chargé Baylies and of the state department was not sustained. This is especially true since the United States neither had, nor advanced any claim to, the islands in its own right. The protest against the action of Vernet, and the demand for reparation were justifiable. The action of Captain Duncan, however, cannot be justified on the grounds of questionable sovereignty on the part of Buenos Aires. Any such justification would have to be on the grounds that the government of Buenos Aires had not assumed responsibility for the arrests. The difficulty is that the measures taken by Captain Duncan exceeded in severity the requirements of the situation, especially in view of the investigation which the government stated was started and which Duncan could not say was unduly delayed. The representatives of the United States flatly denied the claim of sovereignty put forward by the government of Buenos Aires, but a few years later, when Great Britain was in possession of the islands, two secretaries of state carefully refrained from any expression of opinion on the subject.

The right of the citizens of the United States to the use of the unsettled shores of the islands was further supported by quoting the provisions of the convention of 1818 with Great Britain whereby the United States was granted

liberty forever to dry and cure fish in any unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of the southern part of the coast of Newfoundland and of the coast of Labrador.¹⁰

The treaty of Utrecht in 1713 giving to the citizens of France the right to some of the Newfoundland fisheries was also cited. The whole argument on the fishing rights sounds like the Adamases negotiating with Great Britain for the fishery rights in 1782 and in 1814. Vernet contended in his report that these provisions were treaty concessions and did not prove a "right". The British negotiators in 1814 at Ghent intended

¹⁰ Malloy, *Treaties, Conventions, . . . of the United States*, I. p. 631.

to make the granting of fishing privileges the object of an equivalent in the shape of the right to navigate the Mississippi River. Lord Bathurst, in a letter to John Quincy Adams, while the latter was still ambassador in England, stated that the word "liberty" was used in the treaty of 1783 to denote what the United States was to enjoy as a concession strictly dependent on the treaty itself.¹¹ John Adams, as one of the commissioners in Paris to negotiate the treaty of 1783, put all of his energy into the attempt to have the "right" to the fisheries acknowledged by Great Britain, but he had to content himself with the "liberty" to fish. In the convention of 1818 the word "liberty" was used in contradistinction to the word "right". The government of the United States, since its experience in the Halifax commission of 1877, the fur seal arbitration of 1892, and the North Atlantic fisheries arbitration of 1909 would scarcely make such a contention, nor would it contend that an uninterrupted use of the shores and inshore fisheries for fifty years gave the right to the continued use of those fisheries, free from interruptions.

On August 8, 1832, Maza addressed a long protest to the state department against the action of Captain Duncan. Soon afterward he wrote to Chargé Baylies condemning Captain Duncan and demanding "prompt and ample satisfaction, reparation and indemnity for all damages and losses incurred". He sent with this letter a copy of the "Report" of the political and military commandant of the Malvinas Islands, Louis Ver-net. Baylies refused to open this report and on August eighteenth he requested his passports.

A further complication then entered into the situation. On January 3, 1833, Captain Onslow of the British navy commanding H. M. S. *Clio* took possession of the Falkland Islands for Great Britain, and this possession has been maintained to the present time. The Falkland Islands are now a crown colony, with a population of about 2,000 people and an average

¹¹ Moore, *International Arbitrations*, I. pp. 705, 707.

annual foreign trade of about \$900,000.00. In 1840, Brigadier General Carlos M. de Alvear, envoy extraordinary of Argentina to the United States, the first minister of Argentina to the United States and at that time on his third assignment at Washington, requested reparation for the conduct of Captain Duncan. Daniel Webster, who was at that time secretary of state, replied on December 4, 1841, that the propriety of suspending a decision on the matter still further was obvious, even if it should be allowed for argument's sake, that Captain Duncan had no reason to doubt that the Argentine government had, at the period mentioned, a colony at the Falkland Islands and took the action notwithstanding. Furthermore, since Great Britain had assumed possession by title antecedent to the acts of Captain Duncan, Webster thought a final answer ought not to be given until a settlement was reached between Argentina and Great Britain.¹²

The question was again brought up in 1886 when Mr. Bayard was secretary of state. He replied to Mr. Vicente G. Quesada, minister from Argentina, that the United States could not take up the settlement of the claim presented against this country, since there was a controversy on between the Argentine Republic and Great Britain in regard to sovereignty over the Falkland Islands. Bayard said, further:

The question of the liability of the United States to the Argentine Republic for the acts of Captain Duncan in 1831 is so closely related to the question of sovereignty over the Falkland Islands that the decision of the former would inevitably be interpreted as an expression of opinion on the merits of the latter.

Argentina asked that the Monroe Doctrine be applied in the dispute between Argentina and Great Britain over the Falkland Islands. Bayard in the above letter to Quesada stated that since the occupation of the Falkland Islands by Great

¹² *Writings of Daniel Webster*, National Edition, XIV. p. 371.

Britain in 1833 took place under a claim which had been previously asserted and maintained, the Monroe Doctrine had no application to the case, it was not retroactive. He further stated that even if the British occupation had been a violation of the Doctrine the United States was in no way obligated by its failure to enforce it.¹³

An incident very similar to the one which is the subject of this article arose between the United States and Great Britain in 1854. Two American fishing vessels, the *Harriet* and the *Washington*, were arrested by the British authorities in the Falkland Islands for killing the wild hogs which roamed the Islands. The American consul stationed there at that time immediately notified the commander of the Brazilian squadron of the United States navy of the incident. Another American naval officer, Captain Lynch, now had the opportunity to demonstrate a lack of regard for the feelings of others. He was very discourteous to the governor of the islands. The British foreign office expressed regret for the arrests and caused the American vessels to be freed, but stated at the same time that they would expect an apology from the United States for the conduct of Captain Lynch. Lord Clarendon stated Great Britain's position to be as follows:

Her Majesty's Government . . . will continue to exercise in and around the Islands of the Falkland group the rights of territorial sovereign and will prevent, if they think fit, foreigners from fishing for whale and seal within three marine miles of the coast, or from landing on any part of the shores for the purpose of fishing or killing seals, nor will they allow the wild cattle to be destroyed.¹⁴

In 1881, because of the near exhaustion of the seal fisheries of the islands, the governor of the Falklands issued a decree establishing a closed season for the killing or capture of seals.

The incidents at the Falkland Islands in 1831 caused a break in the diplomatic relations between the United States

¹³ Moore, *Digest of International Law*, I. p. 889.

¹⁴ Moore, *Digest*, I. p. 888. Also, *Sen. Exec. Doc.*, 42nd cong., Serial No. 1478, I. No. 19.

and Argentina. Chargé Baylies received his passports September 3, 1832, and the United States did not have a diplomatic representative at Buenos Aires again until in the next decade. Argentina did not have a minister in Washington until in 1840 when Alvear presented his demand for reparation.

PAUL D. DICKENS.

George Washington University,
Washington, D. C.

TEODORO DE CROIX

Teodoro de Croix, one of the greatest and noblest military viceroys, wisely governed Peru in the latter eighteenth century, when Spanish colonial administration was rapidly declining. The fact that this highest representative of the king in America was of Flemish descent shows that foreign influence, under the Bourbon régime, had penetrated even into the distant colonies. But the man of foreign descent was filled with the fire of a splendid enthusiasm which has seldom been equalled. In Spain, El Cavallero de Croix, as he styled himself, served faithfully as commander of the Teutonic Order, captain of the Walloon Guards, and as lieutenant general of the armies of the king.

For a number of years he performed successful military service under his uncle, the Marqués de Croix, who was viceroy of Mexico. The elder Croix appointed him governor of Acapulco, in order that he might help to check illicit commerce, since the homing Manila galleons which landed at that western port brought large quantities of contraband goods. The younger Croix was energetic, eager, and an assiduous worker who, taking his tasks seriously, decided to board the galleons when they arrived and see for himself what they contained. He had all the smuggled merchandise confiscated and the king was well pleased that 1,800,000 crowns from the sale of the articles entered the royal treasury. Teodoro also aided his uncle to expel the Jesuits from Mexico. He was trusted so thoroughly that the secret plans of the viceroy and of Visitor Gálvez were revealed to him. The younger Croix's most valuable military experience was obtained in the frontier provinces of New Spain, where he became the first commandant-general of the newly established *Provincias Internas* in 1777.¹

¹ Charles François Croix, *Correspondance du marquis de Croix, capitaine general des armées de S. M. C., viceroi du Mexique* (Nantes, 1891), pp. 202, 205-209, 249.

There Croix learned how to deal with the painted warriors and to take defensive measures against foreign aggressors; there he became familiar with the conditions of America which were so different from those of Spain.

The prosperity of the frontier provinces depended on terminating the incessant Indian hostilities that they suffered; thus the dauntless official undertook the task with his characteristic vigor and intelligence which were somewhat new to frontier functionaries. His plans had been made before he left Mexico and his good friend Bernardo de Gálvez, the brilliant young soldier who was in charge of the province of Louisiana, was to coöperate with him. The plan was to unite the Indian nations of the north and three or four hundred hunters from Louisiana, commanded by Gálvez, with the military force of the *Provincias Internas*, led by the commandant, in a joint campaign against the troublesome eastern Apaches. Croix likewise asked for two thousand more troops for the frontier provinces. He held a series of councils of war, over which he presided, to obtain the approval of the frontier officials for his projects, to hear their suggestions, and to discuss measures for putting them into effect. The youthful military leader decided to make a thorough study of the Indian question, and in the councils held at Monclova in 1777, at San Antonio de Béxar in 1778, and at Chihuahua in 1778, he considered sixteen points relative to the Apaches and the Indian nations of the north.² How long the fierce Apaches harried the Spanish frontier, their number, methods of making war, their habitat, what enemies they had among the other Indian nations the feasibility of making alliances with the various native tribes, and their manner of living—this was the information sought.³

² The Indians of the frontier provinces have been ably treated in Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1763-1780* (Cleveland, 1914), I. 111 *et seq.*

³ Teodoro de Croix concerning the councils of war, December 9, 1777, *ibid.*, II. No. 165, pp. 147-150.

The junta held at Monclova recommended that an offensive union should be made with the nations of the north, and that a war of extermination should be carried on against the wily Apaches of the east.⁴ Although the king did not permit Gálvez to come from Louisiana with a corps of hunters as requested, this did not discourage Croix. Soon the commandant general planned to advance the frontiers and establish fortified posts along the Colorado River to the country of the Taovayases, as a way to keep the interior of the provinces safe.⁵

Croix advised the Spaniards to have friendly dealings whenever possible with the Indians of the north because he thought that this would be the easiest and best means to preserve permanent peace. When the governor of Texas told him that the inhabitants of the province secretly traded with the Indians of the north, he became greatly alarmed, since he believed that trade in firearms was bad for the natives. As the citizens of Louisiana likewise sold weapons to the stealthy savages, they tried to utilize them skilfully, and the Lipanes even learned the secret of making gunpowder. What could Croix do to prevent the evil because of his efforts to subdue the wild Apaches? Any measure taken against the traders of Louisiana might cause the Indians of the north to make war against the Spaniards; he also knew that it would be necessary to prevent the English of the nearby colonies from exchanging firearms with the Indians, which, too, might arouse disastrous hostilities.⁶

The soldier-knight accomplished much in the frontier provinces, although he sometimes felt that his attempts were futile and that he worked in barren soil which produced little fruit.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 111-112.

⁵ Croix to Bernardo de Gálvez, September 10, 1778. Bolton, II. No. 185, p. 218; September 23, 1778, II. No. 187, pp. 221-222.

⁶ Croix to Baron de Ripperda, July 9, 1777, *ibid.*, II. No. 159, pp. 133-134; Croix to Bernardo de Gálvez, September 11, 1778, II. No. 168, p. 137; September 23, 1778, II. No. 187, pp. 222-223.

He declared that everybody thought more of personal interest than of the king or virtue. His natural enthusiasm, ambition, and youth caused Croix to hope that the sovereign might recall him and give him another position; yet as this was the first important commission that Croix had held, he could hardly expect to be promoted soon.⁷

When the young frontier commandant returned to Spain the king rewarded him for his faithful services in Mexico by appointing him to the most coveted post in America, the viceroyalty of Peru. Croix made his entry into Lima on April 6, 1784, with all the accustomed pomp and ceremony which attended the reception of a new viceroy, the usual civil officials, ecclesiastical dignitaries, and the populace coming out to welcome him. Like all his predecessors, after paying his respects in the cathedral, he then took the oath of office in the *audiencia*. Sumptuous banquets were followed by costly entertainments.

Although a military man, Croix also had innate capacity as an administrator. At the behest of the energetic Charles III. who desired to centralize the colonial government after the French fashion in order to produce lasting reforms, the new viceroy immediately undertook to establish the intendant system in Peru. The visitor general submitted to Croix a list of the intendancies that were formed, with the dioceses to be included in them, their capitals, and the number of officials serving in them. The viceroy then ordered that the proper commissions should be granted to the intendants who had been appointed, confirming them as the representative of the supreme authority and person of the king. He also published a proclamation in Lima in which he enjoined obedience to the new system of government, sending copies of the ordinance of intendants to all the tribunals of the capital and to the provinces. Finally he gave account of the measures taken to the king, and after obtaining the royal approval on January 24, 1785, the new régime was definitely established in the vice-

⁷ Croix to Bernardo de Gálvez, January 26, 1780. Bolton, II. No. 251, pp. 332-334.

royalty of Peru.⁸ Eight intendancies were created in Peru, which were divided into fifty-seven districts or *partidos*; over these subdelegates were placed.⁹

The Peruvian executive next turned his attention to the application of the intendant system to Chile; but the introduction of intendancies into the southern province was delayed until the relation which it was to have with Peru could be determined. It was finally decided that Chile was to remain dependent on the viceroyalty of Peru in military and financial affairs. The number of intendancies to be established in Chile, the *partidos* to be included in each one, the officials, sub-treasuries, the *junta superior*, and many other matters which the ordinance mentioned—these were the problems about which Croix consulted the president and regent of the audiencia of that province in 1785.¹⁰ It was thought that the two intendancies of Santiago and Concepción would be sufficient, and that they should correspond to the two bishoprics of those names. Croix formed the two intendancies as soon as possible. The president of the audiencia of Chile, Ambrosio Benavides, was chosen intendant of army for Santiago, and the governor of the frontier, Brigadier Ambrosio O'Higgins, intendant of province for Concepción. The old governors and *corregidores*, who became subdelegates in the new divisions, did not have the right to trade as before. Croix believed that it would be better for Chile to be less dependent upon Peru, since by this plan the delays could be avoided which had been so injurious to the former province because of the great distance from the capital of the viceroyalty and the poor means of communication. He sent copies of the ordinance of intendants to the president and regent of the audiencia of Chile so that they could form the *junta superior de hacienda* or board of finance,

⁸ *Memorias de los vireyes que han gobernado el Peru* (Lima, 1859), V. 70-71; Vicente G. Quesada, *Historia colonial Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1915), p. 257.

⁹ Bernard Moses, *Spain's declining Power in South America, 1730-1806* (Berkeley, 1919), p. 246.

¹⁰ *Memorias de los vireyes que han gobernado el Peru*, V. 72.

and the president might assume his duties as intendant of army. The king sanctioned the viceroy's measures relative to the new intendancies on February 6, 1787.¹¹

In other administrative activities and reforms Croix played a leading part. He established a royal audiencia and a tribunal of accounts at Cuzco; hence in this way Cuzco, which had been the capital of the Inca empire, was fittingly honored as a reward for the untold insults that it suffered in the days of the conquerors.¹² The viceroy caused the valleys of Acobamba and Vitoc to be repopulated. The Vitoc region in the province of Tarma had long been exposed to Indian hostilities; therefore a settlement consisting of seventy-five people was begun in April, 1788. A fortress, a church, and a house for missionaries were constructed under the supervision of the intendant of this province.¹³

The beneficial measure of free trade had not yet been put into effect in Peru when the viceroy arrived; accordingly he allowed the first vessel of the Philippine Company to come to Callao to trade. The results of free trade proved to be very profitable to the country, for during the five years of Croix's administration the exports amounted to 36,000,000 crowns and the imports to 42,000,000. The revenues of the state were 4,500,000 crowns and the expenditures did not exceed this amount; thus for the first time in a number of years the budget balanced.¹⁴ The viceroy was always a great champion of free trade. For example, when the inhabitants of Truxillo protested about negroes and sugar being imported freely into Peru by way of Buenos Aires and tried to get the king to prohibit this exchange so that the introduction would follow the old Panama route, Croix intervened immediately. He recommended that the king should command the Royal Company of the Philippines, which had charge of the slave trade, to convey

¹¹ Quesada, *Historia colonial Argentina*, pp. 285-296.

¹² *Memorias de los virreyes que han gobernado el Peru*, V. 73-74.

¹³ *Ibid.*, V. 165-171.

¹⁴ Croix, *Correspondance*, pp. 249-250.

one-third of the negroes by way of Panama, in order that the farmers of Truxillo might obtain the number needed for their estates.¹⁵

Great administrators must also be great builders; consequently, public improvements occupied the attention of the king's highest representative. He had the bridge of Jequetepeque constructed on the highway over which passed the traffic from Lima and the adjacent towns; he enlarged the wharf at Callao with the financial aid of the *consulado*;¹⁶ and he had the powder magazine of Cuzco located a league from the city on account of the danger from fires.¹⁷ It seems that in Lima fireworks used in public fiestas had caused conflagrations; therefore Croix prohibited the manufacture of the explosives except those needed to show respect to members of the royal family who died.¹⁸ Good roads even in the distant provinces of Valdivia and Chiloé were a matter of interest to him; for without satisfactory communication a country remains backward.¹⁹ Believing that lack of cemeteries outside of the cities in Spanish America was one of the chief causes of disease, Croix assigned four places far enough away from Lima for cemeteries, but scarcity of funds prevented the work from being realized.²⁰

The watchful viceroy kept order in the capital by having it patrolled at night. He found it necessary to commission Juan Lostaunu, the captain of the infantry, to safeguard Lima, its suburbs, and the surrounding country, and to capture not only malefactors but also runaway slaves who sought refuge in the city and in the nearest mountains. Those who captured slaves were to be granted a reward of ten pesos.²¹ Sometimes when the lower classes of people in the capital

¹⁵ *Memorias de los vireyes que han gobernado el Peru*, V. 134-136.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, V. 137, 151-160.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, V. 177-192.

¹⁸ *Memorias de los vireyes que han gobernado el Peru*, V. 146-151.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, V. 163.

²⁰ José Toribio Polo, *Memorias de los vireyes del Peru* (Lima, 1896), pp. 34-35.

²¹ *Memorias de los vireyes que han gobernado el Peru*, V. 145.

were very turbulent it was not an easy task to maintain order. Executives were required to see that irresponsible persons like mulattoes, zambos, and Indians did not carry weapons; mestizos might bear them only under a special permit. Arms might not be taken to the Indies without royal consent, under the penalty of losing them; therefore Croix decided to retain all prohibited weapons in the custom-house of Peru until the owners could send them back to Spain.²²

The efficient administrator supervised minor improvements in the city of Lima, such as street paving, decorating, lighting, cleaning, and repairing of buildings. He was aided by a lieutenant of police who performed many of the functions of the *cabildo* or municipal council which had grown careless in its work. The first lieutenantcy of police, with a salary of two thousand pesos, was conferred upon José María Egaña who had been *alcalde* of the ward. Croix considered the office very necessary and thought that Egaña was reliable and discharged his duties faithfully. Although a number of improvements were made and many sanitary measures were taken by the new official, the *cabildo* could not see the need of him, no doubt, because he was not elected by that body.²³

Mining was still one of the most important and profitable industries in Peru and the chief source of revenue for the crown; therefore, in 1787, the tribunal of mining was established in order to develop further the resources of the country. The viceroy, being well pleased with the way the directors performed their functions, advised the creation of a college of mining, similar to the institution in Mexico, where the latest methods of the industry could be studied. Like his predecessors, Croix took great pride in the chief occupation of the country, for when mining flourished the viceroyalty was prosperous. He was much interested in the royal mine of Guan-

²² *Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de las Indias* (Madrid, 1791), ed. 4, leyes 12, 14, 8, tit. 5, lib. 3; *Memorias de los vireyes que han gobernado el Peru*, V. 78-80.

²³ *Ibid.*, V. 130-134.

cavelica from which quicksilver was obtained, and he tried to prevent all fraud in the distribution of the metal, which was used for extracting gold and silver. Large quantities of mercury were needed in mining and if, for any reason, the supply ran short the valuable industry suffered.²⁴

The executive also took defensive measures for the viceroyalty during foreign wars. He sent instructions for defense to the intendants of each province in Peru and inserted a copy of the royal order which commanded him to protect the country from attacks by the English, who were at war with Spain.²⁵ He summoned councils of war to discuss financial matters that pertained to the army, military discipline, the reform of battalions, and the regulation of the price of transportation of soldiers from Peru to Spain. The visitor as well as the viceroy was present at those meetings.²⁶ The coasts of Peru and Chile were so long that it was impossible to fortify all the ports; therefore the method of defense adopted was for the people of the small towns to withdraw inland with all their movable possessions whenever they saw an enemy appear. The port of Callao was always fortified. A commissioner of war resided there and Croix, who thought that he was very necessary for the defense of the city, advised the king to continue him in the office.²⁷

The viceroy as the supreme military chieftain in the viceroyalty had to provide hospitals and barracks for the troops. Croix caused ten barracks to be built in Lima at a cost of 40,000 pesos. He was forced to take this measure because sickness had occurred among the soldiers due to exposure in their lodgings at the hospital of the Bethlehemites and in the college of San Felipe.²⁸ Executives of Peru were likewise held responsible for conveying subsidies to the far away presidios

²⁴ *Memorias de los virreyes que han gobernado el Peru*, V. 362-365, 369.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, V. 240.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, V. 222-225.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, V. 209-210.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, V. 228-229.

of Panama, Cartagena, Santa Marta, Chile, Valdivia, and Buenos Aires. In July of 1788, Croix sent 300,000 pesos to Panama and four months later he added 385,674 pesos to this sum.²⁹ Viceroy of Peru exercised much authority over the armadas of the South Sea on account of the great distance from the mother country. They supervised the construction of ships for those waters and were required to inspect the officials of the armada every year. According to the laws of the Indies there was to be a pilot on each ship of the fleet and two on the flagship and *almirante*.³⁰ In 1786 Croix provided that a pilot who had passed an examination should accompany every boat.³¹

The all-consuming desire of Croix was to give Peru a vigorous administration and to correct abuses; therefore he believed in making subordinate officials perform their duties properly. The fact that he even removed an intendant from office showed that the viceroy still had a great deal of authority in spite of the new intendant system which somewhat decreased his powers. Francisco Hurtado engaged in commerce with the island of Chiloé and persisted in his misdeeds, although Croix had warned him of the consequences. The disobedient intendant became angered and denounced both the viceroy and his assessor. Croix then gave account to the king, which report had no effect upon the reprobate intendant, who insulted the viceroy and said that the island of Chiloé was not subject to the jurisdiction of Chile or Peru. The viceroy finally removed the obstinate official, brought him to Lima, and from there sent him to Spain.³² He also deposed González, the military governor of the island of Juan Fernández, because, in 1788, he permitted a vessel of the United States from Boston with Grey and Kendrick on board to land at the island, to make repairs, and to take away supplies. Croix dismissed

²⁹ *Ibid.*, V. 313-314.

³⁰ *Recopilación, leyes* 1, 18, tit. 44, lib. 8; ley 35, tit. 23, lib. 9.

³¹ *Memorias de los vireyes que han gobernado el Peru*, V. 242-245.

³² *Ibid.*, V. 125-129.

the governor from office because he furnished assistance to the distressed boat. He ordered the intendants and subdelegates of the provinces to be on the lookout for foreign ships and to place sentinels on the coasts.³³

In 1785, the viceroy dealt rather severely with an impostor by the name of Manuel Antonio Figueroa, a native of Galicia, who had come to Peru, and assumed many fictitious titles, like Cardinal Patriarch of the Indies and Governor of the Council of Castile. Croix commanded the *auditor de guerra* to seize the man and examine his papers, which were found to be forged; for punishment Figueroa was sentenced to ten years in the presidio of Africa.³⁴ Croix intervened in an election of the *consulado* or organization of merchants in Lima by summoning the quarrelsome men to meet in his office in order to discuss the matter, and it was settled peacefully. A short time after this event the tribunal of the *consulado* imprisoned a lieutenant in the public jail of Lima for a debt of twenty-five pesos. On the way to prison the chief sergeant ordered him to be taken to the barracks of his battalion for custody, but the *consulado* paid no attention to the request and the lieutenant was conducted to the town jail. The affair was appealed to the viceroy, who gave the tribunal a slight reproof, saying that it had a perfect right to arrest soldiers, but that it should respect military commands.³⁵

The great administrator was equally interested in religious matters and even ecclesiastics did not escape his watchful eye. Croix expelled Friar José de Azero from Peru because he was implicated in the case of the impostor Figueroa.³⁶ He removed Gaspar de Ugarte from the province of Jauja, José de Hoya from Tarma, and Pedro Escobar from the district of Guarochiri since they had tyrannized over their Indian parish-

³³ *Ibid.*, V. 254-260.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, V. 111-122.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, V. 87-88, 342.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, V. 122.

ioners and did not properly instruct them in the faith.³⁷ He was very careful to see that royal measures for religious reforms were carried out, and that small convents, which had scarcely enough income to maintain eight members, were suppressed. He also tried to prevent other establishments from having an excessive number of inmates, and he enjoined that the constitutions of religious orders should be kept.³⁸ In 1786, there was a disturbance during the election of the abbess of Santa Clara at Truxillo, and a year later Croix was obliged to take a hand in it to restore peace.³⁹ Viceroy's were to collect all papal bulls and briefs unsanctioned by the council of the Indies and send them back to Spain. Prelates in Rome sometimes addressed *patentes* or letters to ecclesiastics in America, in which they made certain requests or gave permission for measures to be taken concerning religious matters. When such a document, relative to the extension of terms of the religious, came to Peru, Croix declared it void.⁴⁰

The fair-minded executive always protected members of the clergy to the best of his ability. In 1788, the bishop of Concepción on the way to Valdivia was robbed of his baggage. As soon as Croix was informed of the event by the commandant of the frontier, O'Higgins, action was taken to prevent a similar crime and to restore the lost articles to the prelate. Such stringent measures were employed against the stealthy Araucanian Indians that the road from Concepción to Valdivia remained quiet for some time after this.⁴¹ Croix coöperated with the inquisition to detect prohibited books. The writings of Montesquieu, Raynal, Machiavelli, Legros, Linquet, Belisario de Marmontelo, and the French Encyclopedia were all under the ban; therefore the viceroy organized a committee to examine public libraries and to keep such

³⁷ *Ibid.*, V. 55.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, V. 8-9, 16.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, V. 46-49.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, V. 16.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, V. 84-85.

works out of Peru.⁴² He took great interest in the college of San Carlos in Lima, provided that the proper kind of a man was chosen rector, and required the institution to give account of its income and the salaries paid to its professors.⁴³

Croix seems to have exercised a great deal of power, although he complained about the decrease of his authority due to the intendant system. He suspended a royal order for the remeasurement of the land in Peru; since much injustice had been caused by the act, the public opposed it, and the rights of litigants were not considered. Accordingly the viceroy decided to take action against such an unpopular measure. The king was pleased and requested an investigation to be made relative to the harm which the Indians had suffered.⁴⁴ The viceroy thought it well to suspend the promulgation of a royal order of 1781 and 1783, which compelled children to obtain the consent of their parents or tutors before getting married. He did this because the two Spanish regiments of Soria and Extremadura were in Peru and it seemed to him that it would be good for the country if the officers and soldiers, Spaniards as well as foreigners, should marry and live in the colony. Account was given to the king who annulled the objectionable article in the decree; but complaints soon arose that ecclesiastics married the soldiers without the permission of their chiefs. Again the government had to turn its attention to the matter and Croix commanded the archbishop to make the clergy comply with the royal measures.⁴⁵

The intendant system, after it had been tried for several years, was vigorously denounced by the very man who had inaugurated it in Peru. Croix declared that the intendancies had caused many inconveniences and that there was an outcry

⁴² *Ibid.*, V. 85-86.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, V. 23-25. For the many other duties of a viceroy consult Lillian Estelle Fisher, *Viceroyal Administration in the Spanish-American Colonies* (Berkeley, 1926).

⁴⁴ *Memorias de los vireyes que han gobernado el Peru*, V. 91-94.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, V. 43-45.

in the country for their suppression. He maintained that the power of the viceroy had been greatly diminished, and that there was less respect for the chief executive among the people, who recognized in their respective intendant a judge invested with all authority in the four departments of government. They yielded the same obedience to the viceroy only in the intendency where he resided. Croix asserted that the populace believed that the powers of viceroys were restricted in order to take away from them a certain imagined despotism; notwithstanding that they had given proofs of fidelity and obedience to the king for more than two and one-half centuries. Although the intendants were subject to the viceroy and to the *junta superior*, the people thought that they were not dependent upon the executive in anything and regarded him with indifference. A few examples of insubordination occurred in Guancavelica and Chile where the troops had to be called out to quell them.

Croix alleged that ecclesiastics did not get along well with the intendants. He had to settle dissensions between the intendants and the nuns of Cuzco and Truxillo, the bishops of Arequipa and Guamanga, and in the college of Ocopa over the election of officials. The prelates noticed a great contrast between viceroys and intendants. The former by their age, rank, titles, services and nationality were fit to exercise the honorable functions of vice-patrons, but they were deprived of them. They considered the latter mere youths without rank, experience, or self-control; and they found still more objections to the lieutenant-assessors of the intendants whose only merit was that they were lawyers of the common people of the audiencia.

The bishops became angry at the intendants when they observed that the lesser clergy tried to win their good-will for purposes of self-interest. Intendants encouraged them in disobedience to their prelates; therefore bishops feared to have those officials, in their capacity of vice-patron, provide for

vacant parishes. Thus the parishes were allowed to remain unoccupied or were served by *ad interim* appointees, which was not good for the cause of religion. Croix used all means to calm the scandalous disagreements between ecclesiastics and intendants. He thought that the latter should not have anything to do with the vice-patronage, since many of them were not of sufficient uprightness, learning, disinterestedness, and public spirit.

The Peruvian viceroy asserted that the intendants had not given the least encouragement to agriculture, commerce, industry, and mining, although this was their special work. In his opinion the cabildos were more capable to perform the functions under the department of general administration than were the intendants. He showed that intendants had not improved the administration of justice in Peru. The chief defects arose from the fact that these officials were not lawyers and that they resided only in the capital cities of the provinces or in larger towns where Spaniards dwelt. However, Croix contradicted himself when he stated that intendants and their assessors were more just than the corregidores and the lawyers from whom they received assistance. He complained that intendants allowed more appeals from judges of first instance than the laws prescribed; and when the audiencia reproached them for this they got around the laws by calling appeals complaints which they decided as they saw fit.

The executive even maintained that the department of finance was not administered any better under the intendants than before. He accused them and their assessors of varying the rules of revenue collection because of their lack of financial experience. They excused some individuals from taxes and punished others, and thereby caused discontent among the people and opposition to the payment of dues. Croix admitted that the security of the royal treasury had been improved; but this, he claimed was not on account of anything that the

intendants or their subdelegates had done, rather it was because of the double entry and better methods of keeping accounts. The viceroy did not consider intendants necessary for the military department, since their work was principally to provide the pay and allowances for the troops, which treasury officials, as commissaries of war, made during the monthly review. He said that the intendants were slow to put measures into effect, and sometimes three or four orders, besides summons and warrants, were necessary to make them perform their duties.⁴⁶

One of the distinguishing marks of a great man is his humanity. Croix was always accessible, and was noted for his remarkable virtue and inexhaustible charity. He granted permission to Doña Josefa Cordeo, a generous inhabitant of the city of Ica, to establish at her own expense a hospital and a home for neglected children, and later the royal approval for the work was obtained.⁴⁷ With the assistance of the archbishop, Chavez de Rosa, Croix founded at Arequipa a house for orphans which provided the country with many famous men. He himself unsparingly assisted hospitals, beggars, prisoners, mendicant friars, and the sick, until he was reputed to be the poorest man in Lima. When he left Peru on April 7, 1790, the admiral of the fleet was obliged to advance him money for his passage. At the port when a poor woman entreated the viceroy for alms for the maintenance of her children, he put his hands into his pockets and drew them out empty exclaiming:

It shall not be that the last poor woman who asks for aid before my departure shall go away with empty hands.

He took his sword, broke off the silver point, and gave it to the poor woman. The great man died in Madrid in 1791, a year

⁴⁶ Croix to the king, Lima, May 16, 1789, AI, 146-6-14.

⁴⁷ *Memorias de los vireyes que han gobernado el Peru*, V. 31-32.

after his services in America ended, but he had already reached his zenith.⁴⁸

What does Spanish America owe to this notable viceroy and statesman? Teodoro de Croix, a man of absolute singleness of purpose, was one of the outstanding Spanish colonial officials of the eighteenth century. His duty and loyalty to the crown always came first, although it was a time when other royal employees were apt to think more of self-interest. He was equally prominent as an executive, administrator, and military leader. He inaugurated into Peru the régime which revived the decadent colonial administration and enabled Spain to hold its vast American possessions for another span of half a century. The services rendered by Croix in a period of decline can hardly be estimated, and his name deserves to go down to posterity.

LILLIAN ESTELLE FISHER.

Oklahoma College for Women,
Chickasha, Oklahoma.

⁴⁸ Croix, *Correspondance*, p. 250.

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of Latin America. By WILLIAM WARREN SWEET. (New York: The Abingdon Press [1929]. Pp. 404.)

The third edition of this book has been expanded to 404 pages, whereas the first issue had 290 pages. There are just half as many maps as in the first compilation; the one new map is of the railroads of all Hispanic America instead of South America only. The frontispiece is the only illustration in the work.

The first fourteen chapters are the same as in the older editions, but many of the errors have been corrected and occasionally a paragraph is enlarged or a new one treating a different subject is inserted. The wording of the greater part of these chapters is identical to that of the other editions, except an attempt is made to accent Spanish words, wrong dates are corrected, and incorrect statements are either omitted or changed.

The latter part of the work is greatly expanded. A new chapter is devoted to "Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay", while in the former editions these topics were combined with the preceding chapter. There are also new chapters on the "Brazilian Empire and Republic", "Chile", "Central America and the Island Republics". The portion which deals with the governments of Hispanic America has been extended to two chapters—one on the "Federal Republics" and the other on the "Centralized Republics". Some additions have been made in the chapter entitled "Races and Society in Present Day Latin America", the most important being the part which discusses the modern social movements. The chapter on "Economic Conditions" is more up to date and recent statistics have been cited. The last chapter treats "International Relations"; it has been expanded and brought up to the present time. A part, based on Percy A. Martin's *Latin America and the War*, is added. More reading references are given at the end of each chapter and an effort is made to include recent works. The index has been revised to cover three extra pages.

The reviewer still finds some inconsistencies and errors in proof reading. Spanish words are italicized throughout the new edition, but occasionally the author forgets about them as in chapter four.

The following slips in proof reading have been noted: 1215 for 1512 (p. 27); "Pedrarias" should not be accented (p. 63); a quotation is cited from Helps without giving the page in the footnote (p. 71); accent on Díaz omitted (pp. 89, 349, 362, 363); "Recopilación" should be accented (p. 109); "alcaldes mayores" are not to be separated by a comma as in the side heading (p. III); accent omitted on "Cádiz" (p. 117); the statement is made that there were 62 viceroys of Mexico and in the same paragraph 64 are given (p. 145); "partidos" not "partidas" (p. 151); accent omitted on Querétaro (p. 187); "Augustín" has an accent (pp. 190, 191); "Tucuman" has no accent (pp. 211, 226), "Mehia" should be "Mejía" (p. 264); there should be a comma after "wrong" instead of a period (p. 290); accent omitted on "Bogotá" (pp. 318, 349); "colegios" not accented (p. 323); "gauchos" (p. 346) should not be capitalized but italicized to be consistent with (p. 221); and "Cortés" has an accent (p. 355). Throughout the words "Bahía" and "San Martín" are not accented, although most authorities accent these words.

Exceptions are taken to several statements. The author declares that the early viceroys held office for three years, but the term might be lengthened or shortened (p. 110). The fact is that the first two viceroys of Mexico held office practically for life; it was not until the seventeenth century that the three year term was adopted. Only the seventeenth century viceroys received the salary mentioned in this book. During the sixteenth century their remuneration was much lower and in the eighteenth century much higher than the figures given. The tribunal of accounts of Mexico was founded in 1605 (p. 113), but the one in Lima was established in 1607. It is said that Spain could enforce its restrictive trade laws, while England could not do this (p. 115). Why then did Spain not prevent smuggling which deprived the treasury of huge sums of money annually? The first census of New Spain was not taken during the administration of the second viceroy Revillagigedo (p. 147). There were several attempts to take the census in the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth it was taken seven times.¹

The third edition of Professor Sweet's work is a decided improvement over the earlier compilations; it has been rendered more useful because of the additional material, especially in the latter part of the

¹ See Vicente Riva Palacio, *México á través de los siglos* (Barcelona, 1888-89), II. f. 682.

book. On account of its great mass of fundamental information, the volume should be very helpful to young students who need to acquire a background for Spanish American history before undertaking intensive study in this field of history.

LILLIAN ESTELLE FISHER.

Oklahoma College for Women,
Chickasha.

Rivalry of the United States and Great Britain over Latin America (1808-1830). By J. FRED RIPPY, Professor of History in Duke University. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1929. Pp. XI, 322. \$2.75.)

In this contribution to the Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, Professor Rippy continues his scholarly studies in matters relating to Hispanic America. His narrative is based on extended researches in the diplomatic manuscript materials in the state department at Washington and in the Public Record Office, London, as well as on various groups of published diplomatic correspondence. The author has a gift in terse, analytical statement as well as in happy generalization though the latter (so it seems to the reviewer) occasionally draws him into statements for which insufficient evidence is offered. He does not *prove* (for example) that a principal basis for early American favor toward revolutions in Spanish America was the desire to expand broadly our territory (p. 2). Indeed (p. 6) Dr. Rippy states that soon our policy was "confined . . . to the pursuit of the Floridas"—a pursuit which, until ended, has usually been held responsible for a very cautious support by the United States to those revolutions.

But this is but a minor point in Dr. Rippy's thesis and story. That thesis is the "rivalry" of Great Britain and the United States in extension of territory, commerce, influence, power, and especially in opposing views as to sea-power and rules of international law. No doubt this last is today the great, vital, question at issue between the two nations though the emphasis placed upon it in the Preface by a quotation from a somewhat lurid journalist seems rather a bid for popular attention to the book than a calm statement in harmony with the scholarly content. And the story, well told, and highly interesting to the historical student for its wealth of quotation from diplomatic archives, will hardly hold the attention of the "general reader".

The Preface indicates that Great Britain will be the "Villain", the United States the "Hero". The story makes both nations "villains" if to be striving for increase of power, prosperity, and influence constitutes "villainy"—which it does not, for that is the business of statesmen.

And the story really adds little to our previous knowledge of authoritative policy. It really restates and amplifies the old and long time accepted thesis of Temperley of the potential "villainy" of Canning as regards the United States in the period investigated by Dr. Rippy. There is a wealth of citation from the minor British and American diplomatic and commercial agents exhibiting their suspicions, maneuvers in rivalry, prophecies of evil, and advocacies of drastic action which, if adopted and acted on in *authoritative policy* would have produced a real clash. To the reviewer the chief interest in the book is in the evidence of how little the *little* men in diplomatic posts influenced the *big* men in office in determining lines of policy. The agent on the spot sees the rivalry in alarming proportions—sees only one item in a hundred that may determine the policy of a foreign minister. Professor Rippy's researches have uncovered a thousand jealousies and animosities of the little men; the effect of their reports on home governments he is able to present less positively. It seems inevitable in a close study such as this that one sees only a minute side of a problem—at least most of us who have tried it find it so. But why should not a study in diplomatic history seek to discover also the *ties* between nations, the influences, whether of home interests or ideals, that mitigate the jealousies and rivalries—the many less evident factors that blend in determining a "policy"?

Yet this suggestion is not, perhaps, a justifiable criticism of Professor Rippy's book. He has made exhaustive researches and presented their results in unusually readable form. He is entertaining, a difficult achievement in a work of this nature. And he sees himself the limitations of his presentation when he writes of the "little agents": "The plunging of the contestants at spectres, their charging at the shadows of their own embittered imaginations, furnish amusement at the expense of both".

E. D. ADAMS.

Contra la anexión. . . . Recopilación de sus Papeles, con Prólogo y Ultílogo de Fernando Ortiz. By JOSÉ ANTONIO SACO. 2 vols. Habana: [vols. V-VI in *Colección de libros cubanos*], I., pp. XCVI, 239; II., pp. 244, CXLVI.)

These two volumes are undoubtedly the most important work thus far published in the *Colección de libros cubanos*.¹ Unlike the others in this series, this does not represent any one work of the author, but is, rather, a collection of essays around a single idea, even including the answers of some of Saco's opponents, as well as the writings of the great Cuban literary genius himself. It is therefore a study of first-rate value, on a theme, too, that has always been interesting and still retains more than a shadow of importance. The word "annexation" in Cuba is understood with reference to annexation to the United States, despite an early but brief possibility that Cuba might have been joined to Mexico or Colombia.

José Antonio Saco was probably the greatest intellectual figure that Cuba has yet produced. Known among scholars in this country for his writings on the history of slavery, he is considered in Cuba, and would have considered himself, primarily in the category of a patriot. Indeed, his profound studies of slavery rested on the basis of his deep disapproval of that institution as affecting his beloved Cuba. Born at Bayamo, Cuba, on May 7, 1797, Saco at length appeared in the field of political polemics as an opponent of Spanish colonial despotism in Cuba, as also of negro slavery there. It is not surprising that he soon found himself an exile. He left Cuba in 1834, never to return, except for a few months in 1861. The rest of his life he spent mostly in France and Spain, dying at Barcelona, September 26, 1879. Yet during all this absence of nearly half a century, it is apparent that Cuba was never out of Saco's mind. His native island appears to have been the principal theme of his work, his letters, and, one might readily believe, of his conversations.

¹ The first three volumes, the *Historia de la isla de Cuba*, por Pedro José Guiterras, were described in a preceding number of this REVIEW. Ramón de Palma, *Cuentos cubanos*, has not yet been received by the reviewer. Volumes VII-IX, Samuel Hazard, *Cuba a pluma y lápiz*, will be reviewed in a later issue. Other works in preparation include the following: José de la Luz Caballero, *Ideas pedagógicas*; José Martí, *Poesías*; José Martí, *Epistolario*; Luis Victoriano Betancourt, *Artículos de costumbres*; Alexander Humboldt, *Ensayo político sobre la isla de Cuba*.

As the title of the work under review would indicate, Saco was an opponent of annexation. This cannot be said without qualification, however. Over the long period of his discussion of this subject, from 1837 to the year of his death in 1879, Saco modified his views in detail according to changing conditions, and at times even argued in favor of annexation as the lesser of two evils. Disregarding what may be termed as the temporary ideas of Saco, such as his objection to a union with the northern republic because of the then existence of slavery in the United States, the following were some of the pertinent views of Saco. He opposed the Spanish absolutist system, and argued earnestly for liberal reform. Although desirous of an eventually independent Cuba, he did not believe that the island was yet ready for such a state, and preferred to maintain the connection with Spain. He hoped Spain itself would grant better conditions, but at all events objected to revolution as bad in itself. Occasionally, when despairing of any yielding upon the part of Spain, he favored annexation to the United States as the only escape from despotism. Sometimes, too, his fear of race war in Cuba, with a possible descent to Haitian levels, inclined him toward the United States. Generally speaking, however, he opposed the idea of annexation. He had no faith in the altruism of the United States, believing that if it acquired Cuba it would be for its own benefit, and not for that of Cuba. Above all, he was alarmed by the specter of the probable loss of the soul of the island, the nationality of the Cuban people, in the absorbing process of the North Americanization of the island.

Recognition must once again be given to the able editorship of Fernando Ortiz in bringing out this valuable work.

C. E. CHAPMAN.

University of California.

Obregón's History of 16th Century Explorations in Western America entitled Chronicle, Commentary, or Relation of the Ancient and Modern Discoveries in New Spain and New Mexico, 1584. Translated, edited, and annotated by GEORGE P. HAMMOND and AGAPITO REY. (Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Co., 1928. Pp. xxxiv, 351. Illus.)

Baltasar de Obregón, the author of this work, was born in Mexico City early in January 1544. At the age of nineteen, he enlisted as a

soldier and shortly became a follower of Francisco de Ibarra with whom he served until 1566 when he returned to Mexico. He had inherited his father's *encomienda* but it supported him indifferently and to win fame and wealth he wrote his *Chronicle* hoping thereby to interest his king, Philip II., to the extent that he might be granted a governorship in the new land. His story was completed in April, 1584, but it brought no honor or wealth. In fact it is not even known how the work was received in Spain.

The *Chronicle* is divided into two books of 38 chapters and 10 chapters, plus a summary, respectively. While it deals with the Mexican conquest from 1519 to 1584 it is considered of greatest value as the principal source for the activities of Ibarra from 1564 onward. For events prior to this date the author has relied upon second-hand information and records. But he has tried to be accurate, for after writing it once he verified and corrected it "by consulting people, readings, and accounts which were given to me and certified by many people" (p. xxxiv). Thus he has attempted a survey of Mexican history from the conquest, with emphasis upon the northern expansion of New Spain. He mentions the names and exploits of many *conquistadores* but with their story he mingles much interesting descriptive matter particularly concerning the natives, the activities of the friars, and the character of the country discovered.

The editors have used a photostat copy of the original manuscript which is found in the Archivo General de Indias. Their work appears to have been well done. Much relevant information has been included in footnotes and an excellent index has been compiled.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

University of South Carolina.

Indice bibliográfico de Costa Rica. By LUIS DOBLES SEGREDA. Vols. I and II. (San José: Impr. Lehmann (Sauter & Co.), 1927-1928.)

Sr. Dobles Segreda has given the bibliographer a useful tool in the work here cited. His work is, in fact, an important contribution to Central-American bibliography, a field in which such reference works are scarce.

The complete book, of which the first two volumes have been published, will consist of nine volumes, arranged as follows: 1. Agricultura y Veterinaria. Ciencias físicas y naturales; 2 Filología y Gra-

mática. Geografía y Geología; 3. Educación, Filosofía, Religión y Crítica; 4. Higiene y Medicina. Matemáticas e Ingeniería; 5. Historia; 6. Milicia Política y Derecho; 7. Novela, Cuento y Artículo literario; 8. Psicología. Socialología y Demografía. Teatro. Poesía; 9. Indice de Autores.

The entries are unusually full, containing explanatory and critical and partial contents.

C. K. JONES.

Library of Congress.

Catálogo de los Documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla. Por D. PEDRO TORRES Y LANZAS. Precedido de una *Historia General de Filipinas.* Por el P. PABLO PASTELLS, S. J. Tomo IV. (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1928. Pp. cclxv, 189. 30 pesetas.)

The fourth volume of this highly interesting and valuable work which the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas has undertaken it upon itself to perform continues the standard set by its predecessors. The documents listed by Torres y Lanzas in this installment cover the period 1595-1602, and are numbered 4492-6104. The history of Father Pastells, covering the ground of those documents, takes up events in the history of the Philippines from the reestablishment of the audiencia of Manila (or of the Philippines) to the arrival in Manila of Governor Pedro de Acuña. Stated otherwise, the list covers the period from shortly after the appointment of Francisco Tello, the tenth governor (reckoning provisional incumbents) of the islands to the arrival of his successor.

Both list and history, as has been pointed out before, should be used side by side with the Blair and Robertson documents, for the two series will be found to supplement each other. In this volume are a few echoes of the special mission of the Jesuit Alonso Sánchez to Rome and Spain; and throughout we can follow the growth of the missionary movement as well as that of the ecclesiastical government structure. The missionaries spread over the islands and even into other countries while the ecclesiastical government was established on a surer basis by the creation of the archbishopric of Manila and three suffragan bishoprics. Continued attempts to subdue Mindanao and adjoining Moro strongholds failed disastrously, and are symbolic of

Spanish contact in those regions until almost the middle of the nineteenth century. Highly important to the student of history is the contact with Japan, where the missionaries from Manila had at first been cordially welcomed in certain quarters and where many converts to Christianity had been made. The seizure of the Manila galleon which had been forced by contrary weather to take shelter in a Japanese port led to a Spanish embassy from Manila to demand reparation for the injury inflicted; and this together with rumors that the work of the missionaries was really part of a political penetration by the westerners led further and logically to the persecution and execution of the missionaries. The limits of the present volume do not, of course, include the events between 1602 and 1636 when Japan was virtually closed to foreigners for almost two and a half centuries.

Another event of importance was the arrival of the first archbishop, the Franciscan, Ignacio de Santibañez; but his death occurred within three months after he had taken possession of his see, and he was succeeded by the Dominican Miguel de Benavides who was long a force in the Philippines. The famous Jesuit, Pedro de Chirino, whose book was published in Rome in 1604, was sent to Rome to report to the head of his order the conditions then existing in the islands. Much of the volume is ecclesiastical in tone.

As hinted before, when noticing other volumes of this excellent series, the venerable Jesuit, Pablo Pastells, makes little effort toward historical criticism or explanation of his sources. In this volume, for instance, which deals so extensively with Japanese-Philippine relations, he apparently accepts the phraseology of the old documents in which Taicosama (the celebrated Hidéyoshi) is always called the emperor of Japan. Nowhere is there a note of the real status of this forceful Japanese peasant who directed Japanese affairs at this crucial period, but who, because he was not of noble birth, can not legally be termed even "shogun", although he acted as such. This reviewer believes that the historical narrative of this series would be improved if the author, who knows so much of Philippine history, would insert, either in a preface or in footnotes, certain explanations or warnings that will serve to save the time of the reader and frequently to remove misconceptions.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Bullets and Bolos; Fifteen Years in the Philippine Islands. By JOHN R. WHITE. (New York and London: The Century Co., [1928]. Pp. xx, 348. Illus.; maps; index. \$3.50.)

From its title, one might imagine that this is a volume of the swashbuckling type where blood runs in torrents and where bloody deeds form the opening, body, and close of the work. There is blood, indeed, but there are also pleasanter subjects, and the volume has throughout a constructive value that will make its use by the student or writer of the American régime in the Philippines, imperative. It is the record, as related by himself, of a young man who enlisted in the Philippine constabulary in 1901, at the age of twenty-two, after already having served in the Greek Foreign Legion during the war with Turkey and for two years in the American army in the Philippines. In 1914, he was retired from the service for total disability, and was treated for lung trouble in the United States, recovering sufficiently to take part overseas in active service during the world war. During his years of service in the constabulary, he passed from third class inspector to colonel, serving in Manila as clerk (which he loathed), in active duty in the islands of Negros and Mindanao, and in the Sulu Archipelago, as governor of the Iwahig Penal colony in the island of Palawan, as commander of the southern district of the island of Luzon, as governor of the province of Agusan in Mindanao, and as head of the constabulary school in Baguio. He had more than his share of chasing and fighting *ladrones* and *pulujanes* who were a hangover in many parts of the islands from Spanish times and who increased during the first few years of the new régime. Many of these events were exciting enough, even to one who loved adventure as much as did Colonel White. In the execution of his duty he was continually taking hairbreadth chances and the wonder is that he was not killed early in the game. He was in the memorable Bud Tajo campaign in the island of Jolo in 1906—an episode that has been condemned in unmeasured terms by good people who sat safely by their firesides and knew nothing and cared less of real conditions in the Philippines—and there he received his only wound of any importance. His success as an administrator is shown by his management of the Iwahig Penal colony and other executive positions.

He tells his story simply, and with no air of bravado, and throughout his narrative has the air of truth. Indeed, his record is a part of

the archives of the constabulary and can easily be seen by those who might wish to check up on the book. He was indefatigable in his efforts to preserve order, ever being mindful that the Philippine constabulary is a police organization and not an army. He was a born leader and knew how to keep his men's respect and even affection. He identified himself completely with his job, was resourceful in his execution of it, and while alive to any dangers that threatened, was quite without any elements of panicky fear. Toward the natives of the island—of whatever part—he was most sympathetic, and he moved easily in any society. He notes (what has been so often expressed by others) that it was only after the advent of the American woman in the Philippines that the cordiality existing between the Filipinos and the Americans began to lessen. He performed a constructive piece of work under conditions that would have broken a man less resourceful in planning and executing.

The volume is prefaced with a foreword by General Harbord, who declares that "For fifteen years there was no department of the Insular Government more influential and efficient than the Constabulary"; and in speaking of Colonel White, he calls him "one of its most gallant and commanding officers". It is rather refreshing to have Colonel White say in his preface: "I have no theory about the Philippines or the Filipinos unless it should be that we keep our promises to them without more racial, legal, or economic obfuscation of the issues than may be necessary".

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENT

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LIBRARY COÖPERATION WITH HISPANIC PEOPLES

[Report made at the annual meeting of the American Library Association, May, 1929.]

The impulse given to library coöperation with Hispanic peoples through the exchange of visits between librarians of Mexico and the United States last spring, made possible through the generosity of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, has awakened interest in the subject as never before, and larger things are now demanded. Chief among the concrete results of Mexican-American coöperation have been: (1) the publication of a monthly list of Mexican books, with prices and names of publishers or booksellers; (2) the membership in the American Library Association of Mexican librarians; (3) the publication of a work on rules for classification cataloguing by the Ministry of Public Education, which was actually prepared by Messrs. Joaquín Díaz Mercado and Tobias Chaves, two members of the Mexican Delegation at the West Baden conference (4) the preparation of a list of American children's books for use in Mexican libraries; and (5) a critical bibliography entitled "Some Reference books about Mexico", by Señorita Juana Manrique de Lara. Another direct outgrowth of the interchange of visits was the deposit of a set of Library of Congress printed cards in the National Library of Mexico by the Librarian of Congress, toward the negotiations of which the committee lent its offices, serving also in the matter of obtaining the assistance of the Carnegie Endowment for the cost of alphabetizing and packing the cards in boxes ready for use, as had also been done by the Endowment in the case of the Vatican Library. The sum of \$2,800.00 was donated for this purpose. The set of cards was received with great appreciation by the Mexican National Library in February, and immediately installed for public use.

A number of the projects set forth in the resolution adopted at the special meeting held at West Baden on May 26 for the Mexican visitors, are yet to be done, but a good beginning has been made, and we are hopeful that the complete program will be carried out in the near

future. It is recommended that the council consider sympathetically the prompt extension of our coöperation in Mexico, especially the following: "The interchange of library personnel"; "The inclusion of Mexican libraries in the Library of Congress lists of special collections"; "The exchange between Mexico, the United States, and Canada of exhibits illustrating the cultural development of the respective countries"; "Giving every possible encouragement to the translation into Spanish of library publications issued in the United States which are likely to be useful in Spanish speaking countries"; and "A request to the children's librarians section of the American Library Association to form a collection of children's books published in the United States and to send it, completely catalogued to the Lincoln Library in Mexico". (Sections numbered 1, 4, 7, 8, and 11, respectively of Resolution II.)

The major efforts of the committee during the past year have been devoted to the matter of an A. L. A. exhibit of books for the Ibero-American exposition in Seville, in pursuance of the resolution adopted last year at the round table. With the coöperation of Dr. E. C. Richardson, of the committee on international coöperation, we obtained the consent of the American commissioner general for the A. L. A. to use the shelves of the library room in the United States building, and with the very effective help of the A. L. A. headquarters staff, especially, Mrs. Emily V. D. Miller and the secretary, and Mr. Karl Brown of the New York Public Library, a collection of books numbering about 700 which were donated by a hundred publishers, were assembled and shipped to the exposition. A catalogue of Library of Congress cards with decimal classification numbers thereon was provided by the card division of the Library of Congress. (See American Library Association *Bulletin*, March, 1929, for details.) The collection consists of modern American literature—belletristic, biographical, political, etc. Books on Hispanic American history and reference books for archivists were not included in the collection since the Library of Congress is sending a semi-permanent loan of such material to the Instituto Cubano-Hispano, of Seville, for the use of researchers and paleographers, and it seemed unwise to duplicate. The books were donated and sent to the exposition on the understanding that they are to be used as a nucleus thereafter for a permanent library somewhere in Spain.

The question of the location of an American Library in Spain is still to be determined and will doubtless require a careful survey of the Spanish centers of culture. It is recommended that the council endorse the proposal of the committee that the establishment of a branch in Spain of the American Library in Paris at the earliest moment be effected. Spain offers an unusually fruitful field for library coöperation of this kind.

Though our hopes be high for the establishment of the American library in Spain, the committee should not be less alive to the opportunities for similar service in our neighboring Hispanic countries. American libraries are even more to be desired, if not more necessary, in the capitals of the Central and South American countries than in Spain, if we consider the matter from the practical side of international friendship. The ways and means for extending the American library throughout Hispanic America should be accelerated. North American books cannot compete with French, Italian, and Spanish books, not only because of the languages, but also because of the vastly higher prices of the North American books. These difficulties must be conquered in one form or another by friends of the book in the United States. The following means of overcoming these obstacles are suggested:

- (1) The establishment and maintenance of American circulating libraries, as has been done in Paris.
- (2) The establishment of American libraries in connection with cultural centers or clubs which are bi-national, *e.g.*, the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Americano, of Buenos Aires.
- (3) Gifts to national or municipal libraries and learned societies of substantial collections, such for example as have been made already by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in the Argentine and Chile and elsewhere, and on a larger scale by the Comisión Libre de Bibliotecas Populares of Argentina. The Yudin (Russian) collection in the Library of Congress may be cited as an example of international friendship which is distinctly worth emulating, 80,000 volumes of Russian literature having been sold to the Library of Congress for practically the cost of transportation.

The work of the committee has been seriously handicapped by the death of its former chairman, Dr. Peter Goldsmith, whose vision, sympathy, and untiring energy were dedicated so constantly to the furtherance of library coöperation with Hispanic peoples. Not only has the benefit derived from his personality been wanting, but the

admirable and altogether useful magazine—*Inter-America*—which he edited has ceased to function as the principal medium of intellectual coöperation between the Americas. It is earnestly hoped that his successor may be found and the excellent work of *Inter-America* may be revived.

One special feature of the magazine was its service as a medium for disseminating information among the libraries of the United States, Canada, and the Hispanic countries. Not only was considerable space devoted to information concerning current literature, periodicals, etc., but also subscriptions and orders were received and executed. At that time there was comparatively little demand for Hispanic literature in the United States, but the study of Spanish has grown enormously within the last three or four years, and now that this medium of coöperation has gone, the need is even greater.

In the report of last year it was suggested that an agency be established with correspondents in all the capitals to facilitate the exchange (by gift, sale, and subscription) of publications of all American countries in the Americas. This matter was discussed at the round table of the committee held at West Baden, but nothing concrete was determined upon. The subject will come up again for discussion at the round table, following the regular meeting of the committee in Washington, and it is confidently hoped that some definite action will be taken, looking toward the creation of such a medium of Inter-American exchange of books and bibliography.

This committee has learned with pleasure that the work of the technical committee on bibliography of the Pan-American Union, is making excellent progress—that Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Peru, Uruguay and the United States have appointed national coöperative committees, and that the other countries will rapidly follow. Upon the suggestion of these committees, tentative agenda have been formulated and it is expected that in the near future the date and place of the congress will be fixed and the agenda adopted.

The committee desires to call attention to the recent lists of newspapers, periodicals, and bibliographies in the Pan-American Union, compiled by the librarian, Mr. Charles E. Babcock, whose useful services in this field are of special pride to this committee.

Upon good information we learn that a new edition of Dr. Ernesto Nelson's valuable work *Las Bibliotecas en los Estados Unidos* (Vol.

VI, of the "Biblioteca Inter-Americana", published by the Carnegie Endowment) will be shortly issued, the demand for this book having long exhausted the first edition of 5,000 copies.

The signs of the times point to a "bigger and better" cultural co-operation among the Americas. In this connection it is worth while noting the visit to the United States of the large company of distinguished Argentine educators, headed by Dr. Ernesto Nelson, who were afforded an opportunity to see at first hand our educational methods. We would also record with great pleasure the visit of Dr. Alfredo Colmo, the eminent Argentine jurist, who is president of the Instituto Cultural Argentino Norte-Americano of Buenos Aires.

The prime gestures on the part of the United States during the year 1927-28, were the visit of President Hoover in Central and South America, and the good-will flight of Charles Augustus Lindbergh around the Caribbean. Where our first official and first private citizen lead, we can do nothing less than follow.

JOHN T. VANCE, *Chairman.*

CHARLES E. BABCOCK,

R. R. FOWKER,

ESTHER C. JOHNSON,

MRS. MAUD D. SULLIVAN,

NATHAN VAN PATTEN,

ELIZABETH H. WEST.

A NEW BULLETIN

Professor William Whatley Pierson, of the University of North Carolina, in collaboration with Miss Cornelia S. Love, has recently completed work on a bulletin, which is now (August, 1929) being published by the University. This outlines a program for the study of the history and institutions of South America, and is intended for the guidance of women's clubs. We have been permitted to examine the bulletin through the courtesy of Professor Pierson. Following a rather elaborate and carefully worded introduction, fifteen meetings are outlined, the subject matter for each meeting being carefully analyzed and references for study given. It is intended that the meetings shall discuss:

- I. The European conquest of South America.
- II. The Independence of Spanish South America.
- III-XII. Argentina; Brazil; Uruguay; Paraguay; Chile; Peru; Bolivia; Venezuela; Colombia; and Ecuador.
- XIII. The Panama Canal.
- XIV. Relations of the United States and South America.
- XV. South America, The World War, and The League of Nations.

These are followed by a Reference Bibliography, a Publisher's Directory, Terms for the Course, and Schedule of meetings. Each of the fifteen sections is preceded by pertinent quotations from well known authors and statesmen, which bring out excellently the character of the Spanish conquest and administration; salient characteristics of the period of independence; and vital points connected with each country. By a judicious selection of these quotations, Professor Pierson and Miss Love bring out opposing points of view with reference to the topics suggested for club study. The bibliography contains only titles of books printed in the English language which are still in print, and so available for the course outlined. The Publisher's Directory is an excellent feature, for it shows where the books listed may be obtained. The schedule of meetings is ingeniously arranged, with topics for report and discussion, with blanks to be filled in by each club. For instance, for the first meeting, three topics for discussion are provided, namely:

- 1. Spanish nationality and temperament.
Led by
- 2. The Spaniards in South America.
Led by
- 3. Portuguese colonization of Brazil.
Led by

This bulletin is an indication of the increasing importance attaching to the study of Hispanic America in the United States. In it, Professor Pierson has departed from beaten paths and struck out into new fields. Undoubtedly, it will meet present needs, and women's clubs have in this bulletin an opportunity that has not been previously offered. This bulletin is, moreover, an expression of the new duties being glimpsed by our best universities and other educational institutions in broadening their scope and field of service by increasing their contact outside their walls. Miss Love was responsible for

the meetings numbered III to XII inclusive. Because of its excellence, the Introduction is here reproduced. It is as follows:

In the establishment of the independence of Spanish America, the United States have the deepest interest. I have no hesitation in asserting my firm belief that there is no question in the foreign policy of this country which has ever arisen, or which I can conceive as ever occurring, in the decision of which we had or can have so much at stake. This interest concerns our politics, our commerce, our navigation. There can not be a doubt that Spanish America, once independent, whatever may be the form of governments established in its several parts, these governments will be animated by an American feeling and guided by an American policy. They will obey the laws of the New World, of which they will compose a part.—Henry Clay, *The Emancipation of South America*.

When, in 1818, Mr. Clay made his famous speech, he might, as an observer of contemporaneous political and economic history, have been regarded as an enthusiast who was riding a hobby. Today, his judgment must be pronounced as sound and his prophecy as one of uncommonly keen insight into the long future. Indeed, the interests of the government and people of the United States in South America have grown in importance and variety so that they were not in their fullest amplitude encompassed in the observation and vision of Henry Clay. We hear much of the Monroe Doctrine, the Panama Canal, the Tacna-Arica dispute, Chilean nitrate, Argentine meat, Brazilian coffee, Venezuelan chocolate, Pan-American conferences, and many other items associated with South America of interest to people concerned in one way or another with diplomacy, literature, adventure, travel, commerce, finance, and pugilism. South America has become the concern of scholars and writers, of journalists and editors, of travelers and scientists, of statesmen and business men—in fine, of almost every one occupied constructively with modern civilization.

Standard courses in our universities and colleges are offered on the history, languages, literature, geography, and commerce of South America and of Latin America in general. In addition there is a disposition to introduce such courses into the curricula of our larger secondary schools. It is the conviction of the writer that these subjects may safely be compared as to importance, interest, and cultural value with those longer established in the esteem of mankind. The position of South America in our scheme of thought is, I believe, no longer a question of serious debate.

Elihu Root, after his official visit to South America in 1906, said :
I believe that no student can help seeing that the twentieth century will be the center of phenomenal development in South America.

Such an opinion has been endorsed by way of definite expression or by way of implication by other statesmen of distinction who have visited South America, such as Theodore Burton, Robert Bacon, William J. Bryan, Henry White, James Bryce, Elbridge Colby, Theodore Roosevelt, and Herbert Hoover. After his visit, Roosevelt said to John Barrett :

Every American in any degree interested in foreign travel, and especially in the mighty potentiality of South America and our Pan American relations, should visit that continent at the first opportunity. He should make the journey if possible down one coast and up the other, with convenient trips to the interior, and of course across the continent through Argentina and Chile. Such travel in person unfolds before one's eyes and particularly to those who are in doubt, as nothing else can, a wonderful continent awaiting development, great nations ambitious for future power and progress, great peoples, great problems, a peculiar and remarkable civilization, and a material, economic, social and political opportunity of profound interest and immeasurable importance to the United States.

Of South America, Mr. Barrett, in 1922, wrote :

The call of South America is the call of a continent occupying 7,500,000 square miles, or an area equal to the United States and Europe combined; having a population of 65,000,000 increasing rapidly by reproduction and immigration; conducting an annual foreign trade valued at \$3,000,000,000; the greatest foreign field, viewed geographically and economically, awaiting development for United States commerce and investment; producing nearly every product, food, mineral and timber that the world needs; and yet again in the infancy of its possibilities.

South America, of course, is a part of a larger whole, Latin America; and in the formation of our concepts of inter-American relations that continent should not be disassociated. To this more inclusive term and with reference to economic relations, former President Coolidge, in 1926, when addressing the Pan-American Congress of Journalists, said :

In recent years has come a profound realization that the commercial interests of Latin America and the United States have a strong natural bond. Since the World War we have enlarged that interest by vastly increasing our shipping facilities between here and various Latin American ports, by establishing branches of our banks, and by the investment of great amounts of capital. It is estimated that in 1923 United States capital invested in Latin America amounted to \$3,760,-

000,000; in 1924 a trifle over \$4,000,000,000; and in 1925 it was \$4,210,000,000. . . . Figures compiled by our Department of Commerce show that in 1910 our exports to Latin America, including the Guianas and all the West Indies except Porto Rico, amounted to \$279,663,000, and our imports from there amounted to \$408,837,000. Last year the exports were \$882,315,000 and the imports \$1,041,122,000. . . . It may be interesting to compare these 1925 figures with those for our total foreign trade in that year, which were: exports, \$4,909,396,000; imports, \$4,227,995,000. Thus we see nearly one-fifth of all our exports went to Latin America and practically one-fourth of our imports came from there.

Despite the permanency of the interests that have been mentioned above—possibly because of it—despite the enlarged information which multiplied contacts have brought about, there are grave problems in the relations of the Americas. There are political fears, racial antipathies, international rivalries, various alleged superiorities, and some misunderstandings and misconceptions. Some of these problems may be solved—all of them reduced in seriousness—by greater knowledge and understanding, the sort of understanding that is enriched by sympathy and the sort of sympathy that comes from intelligent comprehension, rather than mere enthusiasm. In L. Q. C. Lamar's memorial speech on Charles Sumner, addressed to the people of the north and the south, he said with deep feeling: "My country, know one another, and you will love one another". Perhaps knowledge and the close intimacy of acquaintance will not infallibly produce among the nations so strong an emotion as love, but their benefits and results are relied upon to weaken the effects of ignorant prejudice on the one side and of uninformed enthusiasm on the other. What the people of Latin America think of us and, by the same token, what we think of those countries and peoples, are matters of mutual concern and interest. It is, of course, a hazardous venture dogmatically to state what one people thinks of another. These thoughts are elusive to the inquirer; they are likely to be inconsistent, with praise and blame standing in bewildering alternation and contradiction. In South America, the traveler may not infrequently meet an admirer of the United States. Undeniably, the United States enjoys there great prestige and favor. Also, there is indifference; there is hostility. And the criticism is the more articulate, finding on occasion popular and organized expression.

What are the charges leveled against the United States by South Americans? From the published works of avowed critics, as well as

from statements made casually in conversation, the following adverse opinions may be taken as representative of this group: (1) The United States is a nation of dollar-chasers—and efficient at the job, a materialistic people given over to industry and machinery, but without artistic appreciation; (2) they are a people given to speed and rapid transit, to a bustling energy which gets things done quickly, but which sacrifices quality to quantity (3) they are a people who profess democracy in theory, but do not achieve it in reality, suffering a loss of personal liberty by yielding to the requirements of an orthodox conventionalism; (4) they are a people given to divorces, to lynchings and law-breaking, and to graft on both a petty and a stupendous scale; (5) they are a people devoted by inheritance and practice to imperialism—and that, too, when hypocritically they profess the contrary. South Americans in many cases are suspicious of the Monroe Doctrine, they condemn interventions, they dread economic penetration and exploitation, they point out that the United States now exercises jurisdiction over more than a million square miles of territory formerly Latin-American, they say "The United States has been imperialistic in the past; it is so today and will be more imperialistic tomorrow".

In the United States, there have been and are many friends of Latin America. The literature of condemnation and criticism is not large; and, such as it is, it could scarcely be regarded as organized propaganda. Nevertheless, from commentaries on political history, on business practice, and on social customs, as well as from statements of opinion by citizens of the United States resident in South American countries, may be derived a body of criticisms, of which the following are not regarded as extreme: (1) Latin America is the home of revolutions, where the people have not learned to accept the will of the majority as expressed by the ballot, where they accept the settlement of political problems by force, and where dictatorship is the best form of government; (2) the Latin Americans are a people who look on political office as a sinecure rather than as a public trust; (3) they are a people who love leisure and who might daily confess that they have done today what they should not have done and that they have put off until tomorrow the things they should have done today; (4) they are a people who are unmoral, immoral, and unreliable, without race distinctions and color lines, but in their way entertaining; (5) they are a people "who will receive the stranger and take him in",

a people of large and petty graft; (6) they are a people who have allowed their best ideals to become fantastic, with their exaggerated respect for family, their exaggerated conception of honor and etiquette, their exaggerated heroism which becomes heroics, their exaggerated eloquence which becomes high-flown verbosity; (7) they are a people who think about many subjects, but who do not get at the bottom or heart of any; a people of ideas, but not ability to put them into practice. Many "Americans" abroad in South America say much of "the extraordinary combination of modern commercialism, medieval ideas, and general slovenliness" that obtains there.

We of the United States are likely to hold that the criticisms of the South Americans directed at us are misleading, if not wholly false. The same might be said of the "American" conception of the South Americans. Both sets of criticisms have in them more than a grain of truth, but there is need for a revision of opinions somewhat after the good work of Tancredo Pinochet in the book, *The Gulf of Misunderstanding or North and South America as seen by each Other* (Boni and Liveright, New York, 1920). Without attempting to predispose the student who uses this bulletin, since the formation of opinion is the student's own right and duty, the writer, after some travel in twelve of the countries to the south of us, will limit himself to the statement that he is a genuine friend of Latin America, that he admires its civilization, and that he respects its achievement.

No comment seems necessary as to the method followed in preparing this bulletin. A word as to the selection of books suggested for a study, however, is pertinent. Only books written in English and, of these, only those in print were included. The astonishingly rich bibliography of works in Spanish, Portuguese, French, German, and Italian, was not drawn upon. Those who may be interested in works written in these languages may find C. K. Jones, *Spanish American Bibliographies* (Baltimore, 1922), H. Keniston's *List of Works for the Study of Hispanic-American History* (Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1920), or my *Hispanic-American History: A Syllabus* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1926) of some aid. The limitation of the bibliography to books in print has resulted in certain anomalies. Books relatively old will be found included, whereas such books as Pinochet already mentioned and J. O. P. Bland's *Men, Manners and Morals in South America*, 1920, to which reference would have been made, have to be omitted. Those selected

vary greatly in merit, as was inevitably the case in view of the wide range of topics offered.

Since the University of North Carolina Press has under way the project of the publication of the Inter-American Historical Series which will probably contain fifteen volumes of history and an historical atlas, it is thought especially fitting that the University should issue this bulletin.

Miss Love is responsible for the programs III through XII. In the pleasant work of collaboration, her share of the labor has been larger than mine.

W. W. P., JR.

July, 1929,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

The trustees of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation recently announced a gift of \$1,000,000 from former Senator and Mrs. Simon Guggenheim to establish a system of exchange fellowships between the United States and Hispanic America. While the fellowships offered by the foundation have been available from the beginning for study in any country in the world, the number of applicants has been so large that the creation of this distinct system of fellowships reserved for Hispanic Americans, on an exchange basis, represents an important extension of the foundation's work. The first of the Hispanic American fellowships will be granted in Mexico early in 1930. This is a distinct move toward a closer and more intimate cultural understanding and appreciation between the scholars and professional men of the United States and Hispanic America. It is in harmony with the resolution passed by the International Conference of American States held at Havana in January, 1928, which emphasized the importance of encouraging the exchange of professors and students among the different countries of the two Americas, and promoting the study of each other's language, history, government, geography, and literature. In order to make the relationship of mutual benefit to the two continents, the fellowships are set up as an exchange rather than as a one-way system. Since 1925, Hispanic American exchange fellowships have been awarded to Professors J. Fred Rippy, Duke University; Gordon F. Ferris, Stanford University; E. R. Dunn, Smith College; A. P. Whitaker, Western Reserve

University; A. B. Thomas, University of Oklahoma and Carroll W. Dodge, Harvard University. In 1926 and 1927 Professor C. H. Haring of Harvard University, made a thorough study of the possibilities of extending the fellowships to Mexico and South America. After considering Dr. Haring's report, the trustees approved the following plan:

The Latin American Exchange Fellowships, in the first instance, shall be open to citizens of the United States, and of the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru, and Uruguay, on terms generally similar to those hitherto governing the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowships in the United States. The new Fellowships will be granted for independent research and also for training in the various professions, including engineering and teaching. Special consideration will be given to applicants who desire to study political, social, or scientific problems which are common to the countries of North and South America. If the above-outlined Latin American Exchange Fellowships are successful, the Trustees will consider extending them to the other countries of Latin America as rapidly as proper arrangements can be made.

The stipend for these Fellowships, either for Latin America or for the United States, will normally be \$2,500 for twelve months plus a travel allowance proportionate to the distance which the Fellows have to travel to the places of their study. The fellowships will be awarded in the first instance for one year, but with the possibility of renewal. For Fellows from the Latin American countries, a knowledge of the English language will not be a requirement; instead, an extra period of from six to eight months, covering the time between the end of the university year in Latin American countries in December and the opening of the university year in the United States in September, will be allowed where necessary in order to give appointees an opportunity to acquire a working knowledge of English.

It is expected that candidates for these Fellowships will generally be graduates of universities or professional schools, or persons who in other respects have taken advantage of the educational facilities available in their own countries in their special fields of study. Fellowships will be open to men and women, without distinction of race, color or creed. Fellows from the United States to Latin America, or from Latin America to the United States, will not be restricted in choice of university or other place of study.

The Quivira Society of Los Angeles, California, will soon publish Luxan's Relation of the Espejo expedition. This is the narrative referred to by W. F. Hodge in his little Espejo reprint in 1928. The work on this volume is being done by Dr. Rey and Dr. Hammond.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

LAS SIETE PARTIDAS IN FULL ENGLISH DRESS

[Address before the American Foreign Law Association, at New York City, March 15, 1929.]

At last we are able to put forth a complete English translation of the learned Alfonso's medieval code. For more than a century, English readers of it have been dependent upon the translation of Moreau Lislet and Carleton which was never intended to be complete¹ and has long been out of print. Thanks to the patience and industry of the late Dr. S. P. Scott we have the entire work in English and thanks to the generosity and vision of Mr. William Kix Miller, and the Commerce Clearing House of which he is the head, that work will soon be accessible to all readers of English.

There is no task more thankless than that of the translator. A judicial experience of many years in countries where court interpreters were regularly employed, long since convinced the writer that no two translations into another language are exactly alike. The shades of meaning in all languages are so numerous and varied that the most expert of linguists often differ among themselves. When to that source of divergence is added the difficulty of translating from a modern language in a stage as remote from us as the English of Bracton's day we can form some estimate of the obstacles encountered by Dr. Scott in this undertaking. Only a scholar, versed in both law and language of Spain and of America, is qualified to pass on his work, and it is hardly necessary to add that there are none too many such in the United States; but now that we have this famous work entirely in English, after so much labor and delay, we must see that it circulates and is read. It should promote that purpose to give the reader a general idea of it before asking him to plunge *in medias res*. Let us, therefore, by the way of preliminary, try to visualize its background by inquiring briefly into its history, sources, authorship, character,

¹ Its title page reads, *The Laws of Las Siete Partidas which are still in force in the state of Louisiana*. Of course only a judicial finding could have determined what laws were "still in force"; but the translators appear to have selected at their own discretion.

and place in the legal world and finally by taking a bird's-eye view of its arrangement and contents.

LANDMARKS OF SPANISH LAW	{	<i>Civil Code</i> , 1889
		<i>Las Siete Partidas</i> , 1263
		<i>Forum Judicum</i> , ca., 652.

Las Siete Partidas constitute one of the outstanding landmarks of Spanish, and indeed of world, law and occupy an unique place in its evolution. For they stand midway between the *Forum Judicum* of the seventh century and the Civil Code of the nineteenth, being about six hundred years after the former and before the latter. For about three and a half centuries following its promulgation the *Forum Judicum*² remained the sole compilation of general laws in Spain. There were, of course, the local *fueros*³ and some of these afford great interest, notably those of Aragon whose *Fueros de Sobrarbe*, composed probably before the eleventh century, have been called the Magna Charta of the Aragonese nobles and were safeguarded by an official styled *el justicia*, the last of whom, Juan Lanuza, was executed in 1591 by order of Felipe II. notwithstanding the latter had sworn to observe the *Fueros*. They were not, indeed, formally abrogated until 1707.

Toward the end of the tenth century the *Conde de Castilla*, Don Sancho García, inaugurated the preparation of a new code which ultimately became known as the "*Fuero Viejo*".⁴ Additions to it were made at the cortes of Nagera in 1176 and it continued to have a certain force until nearly the middle of the fourteenth century.⁵ It was probably composed in Latin,⁶ and in its final form consisted of five books loosely arranged and without logical accumulation of

² See Scott's translation for the Comparative Law Bureau under the title of *The Visigothic Code* (1911).

³ These are treated in *Partida* I., tit. II., laws VII-IX at some length as the equivalent of custom and usage. "The *fueros* which contain the customary jurisprudence are distinctly akin to the customs of England and Germany; the wergild and the system of compurgation, the primitive elements of election and representation, are clearly traceable." Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* (6th ed.), sec. 8.

⁴ It is reprinted in *Códigos Españoles* (Madrid, 1872), II., preceded by a valuable historical sketch (Antonio de San Martín, editor).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

contents. Book III contained some provisions regarding proof and procedure but the work seems to have been designed primarily to meet the peculiar conditions prevailing in Castile and to adjust the relations between its king and the nobility; and its force appears never to have extended beyond the territory of that kingdom and León. This necessarily left the *Forum Judicum* operative in other parts of Spain with consequent lack of uniformity.

The thirteenth century was one of general advance for the Spanish Christian kingdoms and law shared in the results. Moreover, as we shall see, "the Bologna revival . . . soon spread its influence to Spain".⁷ The surrender of Seville to Fernando III. in 1248, left that monarch leisure to consider the internal affairs of his dominions and among other evils that confronted him were the diversity and confusion of the laws. To remedy these he conceived a comprehensive scheme of codification which was actually initiated by commencing the preparation of a new work entitled the *Setenario*.⁸ But before this or any other part of his plan could be carried into effect he died.

ALFONSO THE LEARNED

The son and successor of San Fernando was Alfonso X., commonly known as "*el sabio*" (the learned), because of his attainments in science and letters. Almost immediately upon his accession he took up his father's legal project and his reign was marked by a succession of works culminating in the *Partidas*. Opinions differ⁹ as to whether the *Setenario* was actually completed under Alfonso; but he caused the publication of the *Especulo*¹⁰ ("*Espejo de todos los derechos*" or

⁷ Hunter, *Roman Law*, p. 107; cf., post n. 27, San Martín, *Códigos Españoles*, 2 Int. XXIV.

⁸ "His object was to select the best laws, contained in the *fueros*, general as well as municipal, and to form therefrom a single body which would be exclusive and general throughout the kingdom, thus introducing order and conformity and eliminating abuses and evils." La Serna, "Introducción Histórica", *Códigos Españoles*, 2, IV.

⁹ Marina thinks that it was completed only as the *Partidas*; La Serna seems to be certain that it was finished as a separate work.

¹⁰ "This code was begun, says the king, with the advice and approval of the archbishops, bishops, rich men, and those learned in the law of that period, compiling the best and most equitable *fueros* of Leon and Castile. It was communicated to the towns, sealed with the leaden seal; it was directed to govern all and was intended principally for use in appeals to the king's court. Its authority

Mirror¹¹ of all rights), and later, (probably)¹² the *Fuero Real*.¹³ The four books of the latter touched on many subjects belonging to practically all branches of the law—government, criminal law, private, substantive law, and procedure. The deficiencies most apparent in it—superficiality and lack of logical arrangement—are those of the age to which it belongs. But it was not without its merits. A Spanish author¹⁴ says of it:

This code is not a scientific work, but a practical one, a work of observation and compilation for a national code. . . . Incomplete in the political part, it is orderly in the civil, the procedure being founded in the soundest and wisest principles and its conclusions logically drawn excepting the system of proof which belongs to the backward state in which the people were. Despite the limited commerce of that period, it contains a mercantile part and its penal portion presents a calendar sufficiently complete in view of the condition of society. We are inclined to conclude, therefore, that the *Fuero Real* can be considered a code where sufficient unity and method are displayed, that there is clarity in its laws, that its provisions are not casuistical and that it met the needs of the time.

According to Altamira¹⁵ the *Fuero Real*

offered certain novelties that indicate the inflow of the Roman law into the field of civil law. Such are various of the rules of intestate succession; testamentary executors; adoption—whose regulation is adjusted to the Justinian system; the accession of “*insula nata*”; and a good part of the theory of contracts. In other matters (such as “*mejoras*”, the prescriptive period for gaining title, and marriage), the “*Fuero Real*” rectified the earlier municipal “*fueros*” without adopting the Roman law; sometimes reviving mandates of the “*Fuero Juzgo*” that had fallen into desuetude; at other times establishing rules of distinct form borrowed

was great in the sixteenth century, although forgotten since”. La Serna, *ubi supra*, 2, V.; Altamira, *Continental Legal Hist. Ser.*, I. 620.

El Especulo for us, signifies no more than the original plan of *Las Siete Partidas*. Henas y Muñoz, *Códigos Antiguos de España* (edited by Alcubilla, Madrid, 1885), I. 590.

¹¹ Cf., the English “*Mirroure of the Justices*”.

¹² La Serna admits that it is hardly more than conjecture, *Introducción Histórica, Códigos Españoles*, 2, V.

¹³ Likewise reprinted in *Códigos Españoles*, I. “The learned king proceeded for its promulgation to communicate it to each of the councils in the form of a concession and in the guise of a municipal *fuero*”. Henas y Muñoz, *Reseña Histórica* (edited by Alcubilla) I. 103.

¹⁴ Henas y Muñoz, *Códigos Antiguos de España* (edited by Alcubilla, Madrid, 1885).

¹⁵ *Continental Legal Hist. Ser.*, I. 628.

from the Canon law or other sources. A novelty of importance, and not of Roman origin, is the testament by agency ('*por comisario*').

The introduction to the *Fuero Real* contains the injunction "that this *Fuero* be observed forever";¹⁶ but whether this was anything more than the expression of a hope may well be doubted. Political conditions were decidedly unfavorable to a piece of legislation of this character¹⁷ and its active life was brief. In Castile it was displaced as early as 1272 by reëstablishing the *Fuero Viejo*,¹⁸ though the former retained a certain authority long after the promulgation of the *Partidas*,¹⁹ and many of its provisions are even found in the *Novísima Recopilación*²⁰ of 1805.

CONSUMMATION

In the year following the promulgation of the *Fuero Real*, the actual compilation of the new instrument which was to realize the dream of San Fernando, began. The work is supposed²¹ to have been completed in 1263—"seven books in seven years". At first it was known as *Libro (or Fuero) de las Leyes* and it was not until the following century²² that it came to be called *Las Partidas* or *Leyes de Partida*.

Who were the real compilers of this famous work? To this question various answers have been given. Some have ascribed it to the Italian jurist, Azo, whom Bracton copied so copiously in the same

¹⁶ Cf., La Serna, *Códigos Españoles*, 2, VI.

¹⁷ "The nobility of Castile, knowing that by this code it was deprived of its ancient *fueros* and privileges, and that the power of the crown was strengthened and increased, formed the plan of overthrowing it and pursued its purpose to the extremity of opposing and conspiring directly against the sovereign, presenting an armed force in the villa of Lerma". Escheriche, *Diccionario, ad verbum*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Ley 1, tit. 2, Ley 1, tit. 4, Leyes 1, 2 and 3, tit. 5, Leyes 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, tit. 30, Book 1; Ley 1 tit. 1, Leyes 1, and 2, tit. 2, Book 3, et al. of the *Novísima Recopilación* are said to be respectively, Ley 8, tit. 5, Ley 8, tit. 5, Leyes 2 and 3, tit. 5, Ley 5, tit. 5. Book 1, Leyes 1, 2 and 4, tit. 24. Book 4, Ley única, tit. 3, Book 1, Leyes 1 and 2, tit. 6, Leyes 3 and 4, tit. 6, Book 1, et al. of the *Fuero Real*.

²¹ "Its compilation was begun in 1256 and was completed, it would seem, in 1265" according to Altamira (*Continental Legal Hist. Ser.*, I. 621) La Serna, (*Códigos Españoles* II. Int. XV.) considers the exact date uncertain.

²² Antequera, *Historia de Legislación Española*, p. 268; *Códigos Españoles*, 2, Int. XV. Altamira (*Continental Legal Hist. Ser.*, I. 621) gives the time as "in the 1300s".

century when the *Partidas* were composed.²³ Rejecting this view La Serna²⁴ suggests as authors, Jacome Ruiz²⁵ (Jacobo de las Leyes: many of whose materials, according to Altamira,²⁶ were later incorporated into the *Partidas*)"; Fernando Martínez, "a prebendary of Zamora, bishop-elect of Oviedo, 1269, and ambassador of the Italian king near the pope"; and Roldán who, "besides being reputed as a legist, edited the *Ordenamiento de las Tafurerías*", a regulation of state-owned gambling establishments. These and others are selected out of an extensive group; for as Altamira²⁷ says,

We do not know who were the authors of the *Partidas*; and in view of our ignorance it is not strange that critics ascribe that work to the well-known juriconsults of the time, some of whom are cited in its text.

But elsewhere²⁸ the same author concedes

The rédaction of the "*Partidas*" was the work of several jurists whose names are not cited in the text, and was done under the supervision, and subject (how much cannot be determined) to the active intervention of Alfonso, who was himself an author of zeal.

But, long before Altamira, Burriel, whose view was adopted by the Academy of History, maintained that there was but one author of the *Partidas* and that was Alfonso himself; stressing uniformity in plan, similarity in style to the king's other works, the acrostic on his name, and a clause in his testament executed at Seville in 1283, in which he mentions "the book we have made . . . *las Siete Partidas*."²⁹

At any rate, Alfonso seems to have had no Tribonian (unless Ruiz) and this may further indicate his own active participation. Clearly his part seems to have been less perfunctory than Justinian's—more like that of Napoleon or possibly Hammurabi.

ENFORCEMENT

The new instrument did not come into force upon its completion nor for a long period thereafter. Moreover, it appears³⁰ that the king

²³ See Maitland, Bracton, and Azo, (Selden Soc. Pub. VIII, London, 1895).

²⁴ *Códigos Españoles*, II. Int. VI-VIII.

²⁵ Altamira, *Continental Legal Hist. Ser.*, I. 654.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 621.

²⁹ Antequera, *Historia de la Legislación Española*, p. 266.

³⁰ See Altamira, *ubi supra*, p. 622.

went on confirming existing local *fueros*, and conceding new ones inconsistent with the *Libro de las Leyes*. From these facts, some, and especially Sempere, have argued that Alfonso designed only to publish a "book of doctrine"—"a legal encyclopedia, analogous to others which he made in other fields of knowledge in conformity to the spirit of the time"³¹—and that he never intended the work as a code of actual law. But that view conflicts with passages like this:

We are pleased to command that all of our dominion be governed by these laws and no other.³²

It seems highly probable, however, that such commands were intended really to govern a future generation and for the contemporary one, to be rather educative and preparatory. For Alfonso, if he deserves half his reputation, was too "wise" not to know that immediate promulgation was premature.

Immeasurably superior as were the *Partidas* to any preceding Spanish legislation their merits did not impress the contemporary nobles and *hidalgos*. As a learned editor³³ observes, the new code, composed in great part of Roman law and decretals, was at war with the established prejudices of the country and opposed by powerful interests. Nor was there in this anything exceptional. That identical situation existed during the same century in England where, just a score of years before the compilation of the *Partidas* was begun, the barons at Merton returned their famous negative answer to a proposal to adopt the humane, Roman doctrine of Legitimation.³⁴ The thirteenth-century attitude toward "foreign" (*i.e.*, Roman) law was much the same in both Spain and England; only in the former, thanks to Alfonso's foresight, it was eventually overcome, while in the latter, and its offshoots, it has continued ever since. "The English Justinian" was, unfortunately, neither a Roman nor a Spanish³⁵ one. Again, "if the immediate imposition of so considerable a mass of innovations upon the cities of the Castilian crown had been possible, the derangements produced in civil life would have been enormous. For-

³¹ *Ante* note 1.

³² *Prólogo*.

³³ La Serna, "Introducción", p. XVII.

³⁴ See Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, I. 189.

³⁵ Alfonso was "often called the Spanish Justinian". Sherman, *Roman Law in the Modern World*, I. sec. 289.

tunately, impositions of this sort are not reconcilable with the processes of history. When attempted they are futile."³⁶

It is, therefore, a mark of Alfonso's vision and sagacity that he did not seek to put his code into force during his lifetime. But to doubt that he intended it to become in time a real body of law, is not only to accuse him of inconsistency—not to say insincerity—but to deny him his worthiest claim to statesmanship.

LATER HISTORY

Thus, during the reign of the learned king and several successors, the force of the *Partidas* was never more than "doctrinal" or, as we would say, academic. But such force continued to grow. For, says Altamira:³⁷

The compilation of Alfonso X. went on gaining ground among men. Among students, notably the lawyers, and in the universities³⁸—classes especially influenced by the Roman and the Canon law—the *Partidas* served as a text and reference book. This is indicated by the glosses of the manuscript copies of the 1200s and 1300s, the fact of its being read and expounded in the university classes (in Portugal and Catalonia as well), and by the publication of isolated fragments as doctrinal texts. This tendency was favored by the strictly didactic character (scientific, ethical, or historical) of not a few of the statutes—as had been likewise true of the "Fuero Juzgo". Doubtless through the influence of lawyers educated in the universities, who were already devoting much thought to public affairs (Alfonso X. states in more than one place in his works that he consulted "men learned in the law"), many portions of the *Partidas* were gaining authority in legal theory, sanctioned by the then new and great prestige of the Roman law, as well as in the practice of the courts, and in the opinions of counsel. One cannot otherwise understand why, in a number of cortes (e.g., those of Segovia in 1347), representations were made to the king against certain details of the *Partidas*, which if they had not been enforced, could not fittingly have been characterized by the petitioners as infractions of the law.

Thus the University of Salamanca, in whose law school the *Partidas* were studied, became one of the potent agencies for the diffusion of Roman law in the peninsula. But it was not until 1348, more than eighty years after their completion, that the *Partidas* were really pro-

³⁶ Altamira, *Continental Legal Hist. Ser.*, I. 629.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 622-623.

³⁸ Several of the Spanish universities, including that of Salamanca, were established in the same century with the *Partidas* "in imitation of Bologna". Sherman, *Roman Law in the Modern World*, I. 288.

mulgated.³⁹ At the cortes of Alcalá of that year, an *ordenamiento* was passed and confirmed by Alfonso XI., great grandson of the learned king, by which the *Partidas* were given force subject to the municipal *fueros*, the *Fuero Real*, and the privileges of the nobles.⁴⁰ This, of course, gave them only a suppletory force, and it was only in the *Leyes de Toro*,⁴¹ promulgated at the cortes of Toledo, in 1505, that the *Partidas* acquired full force. Just a quarter of a century later, a royal decree⁴² provided:

We order and command that in all causes, suits, and litigations in which the laws of this compilation do not provide for the manner of their decision, and no such provision is found in special enactments passed for the Indies and still unrepealed, or those which may hereafter be so enacted, that then, the laws of this our kingdom of Castile shall be followed, in conformity with the law of Toro, both with respect to the procedure to be followed in such cases, suits, and litigations, and with respect to the decisions of the same on the merits.

This had the effect of extending the *Partidas* to the Spanish colonies—that far flung empire which its *conquistadores* acquired for Spain in the western hemisphere as well as in Africa and Asia, and such extension gave the *Partidas* the widest territorial force ever enjoyed by any law book. For Justinian's *Pandects* were practically confined to the eastern empire, until long after Rome's rule had ended in the west. But in Spanish America, as well as in the Philippines, the *Partidas* were and are the common basic law. Nor has their force been limited, in the western hemisphere, to Spanish America. In a considerable group of jurisdictions now under the sovereignty of the United States, civilized law began with the *Partidas*, or shortly before. Thus, in Louisiana,⁴³ the publication by Governor O'Reilly in 1769 of An extract from the whole body of Spanish law, with references to the books in which they are contained . . . followed from that moment by an uninterrupted observance of the Spanish law, has been received as an introduction of the Spanish code in all its parts

³⁹ "It is not until the 14th century that the civil law of Justinian supersedes the ancient customs", (Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* I. sec. 8).

⁴⁰ Altamira, *Continental Leg. Hist. Ser.*, I. 623.

⁴¹ "The *Partidas* triumph in them in the law relative to sealed testaments; various particulars of succession; the cotenant's right of preferential purchase; the wife's dowry, implicitly recognized at the same time as that derived from the husband to which was given the erroneous name of *arras*; prescriptive periods; the validity of the *Senatus Consultum Vellejanum* (relating to a wife's contracts) and in other details." *Ibid.*

⁴² *Recopilacion de las Leyes de Indias*, lib. II, tit. I, ley 2. See *Ibid.*, p. 633.

⁴³ Beard v. Poydras, 4 Mart. 348 (1816).

—which of course included the *Partidas*; and in fact, they were cited in the opinion of which the foregoing forms a part, and for a long time thereafter in Louisiana Reports, besides being translated, as we have seen⁴⁴ under the authority of the legislature of that state. Indeed, so late as 1924, the same supreme court devoted the major part of an opinion⁴⁵ to a law of the *Partidas*, thus more than justifying the guarded expression of an eminent Louisiana lawyer:^{45a}

The *Partidas* are still worthy of careful study . . . some of its provisions remained as a part of the law of the state.

But it was not only true of the state; for throughout the vast province of Louisiana the *Partidas* were once theoretically in force. The Missouri Supreme Court declared:⁴⁶

We are informed that the first printed book brought into this state, containing any Spanish law, was the *Partidas* and that event occurred later than the year 1820.

So in the territory acquired from Mexico, the Spanish law remained in force in Texas until 1840,⁴⁷ and the *Partidas* are frequently cited⁴⁸ in the early supreme court reports of that state. In California the Spanish law continued for a decade longer and there, too, the *Partidas* were often invoked⁴⁹ by the early judges.

That their extension to Spanish colonies was no mere formality will appear from even a casual inspection of the Supreme Court Reports of one of them, to-wit, the Philippines. The series did not commence until 1901, yet in nearly every volume there are citations to the *Partidas* while as regards at least one important subject—divorce—that collection long contained the only law in force.⁵⁰ Prior to the promulgation of the Civil Code, resort to the *Partidas* must have been relatively much more frequent. Water rights and irrigation, e.g., were governed thereby down to the year 1866.⁵¹

⁴⁴ *Ante* note 1.

⁴⁵ Carbajal's Succ., 154 La., 1060, 98 S. 666, 30 A. L. R. 1231.

^{45a} William Wirt Howe, "Roman and Civil Law in America", in *Harvard Law Review*, XVI. 342, 351.

⁴⁶ Riddick v. Walsh, 15 Mo. 536 (1852) per J. Scott.

⁴⁷ Carroll v. Carroll, 20 Tex. 731 (1858).

⁴⁸ See e.g., White v. Gay's Ex'rs., 1 Tex. 388, 389.

⁴⁹ See e.g., Scott v. Ward, 13 Cal. 473 (1859).

⁵⁰ Benedicto v. de La Rama, 3 Philippine Reports, 34, 40. Cf. Willard's notes on the *Spanish Civil Code*, 16 *et seq.*

⁵¹ Ker v. Couden, 6 Philippine Reports, 735, 4 Off. Gaz. 732 affirmed 223 U. S. 268, 56 I. ed. 432.

So in Porto Rico;⁵² and doubtless a careful search would disclose references to the *Partidas* in the law reports of numerous other jurisdictions.

SOURCES

1. *Roman Law*

The *Partidas* contain little direct information as to the materials used in compiling them. The compilers refer vaguely to their authorities as *los sabios antiguos*, evidently a translation of Justinian's *antiqui prudentes*⁵³ and probably the *Corpus Juris Civilis* was most used; for the compilers of the *Partidas* were not, like their predecessors of the *Forum Judicum*, obliged to rely on abbreviations of Alaric's type. Altamira says:⁵⁴

The renaissance of the Justinian law in Europe, thanks to the labors of the Italian and French jurists, especially from the end of the 1000's onward, did not fail to show effects in the Peninsula. . . . The Justinian element did not attain importance there until the 1200's. In that and the preceding century, the knowledge and cultivation of the Roman law in Spain is attested by the names of various jurisconsults (some of them students or professors in foreign universities, for the most part at Bologna. Others of Italian origin, resident in Spain, as the magister Jacome Ruiz); by the diffusion of Justinian texts in the original or translations; and by the existence of legal works inspired by the Justinian system.

We have seen⁵⁵ how extensive was the resort to Roman law in compiling the *Fuero Real*. Analysis of the *Partidas* will show a marked increase in this tendency and we have only to compare the latter with the *Forum Judicum* to ascertain how vastly greater the Roman element had now become. Thus, while the former shows little trace of *patria potestas*, the latter adopts its "entire theory . . . with negation of maternal authority".⁵⁶

"The matter of the *Partidas*", observes Hunter,⁵⁷

is very largely derived from the Roman law, *Partida* III being taken from it almost exclusively and *Partida* V almost word for word.

⁵² See 3 Porto Rican Reports XXXIII., 4 *Ibid.*, XX., 6 *Ibid.*, XI., 7 *Ibid.*, XIX.

⁵³ Dig. De Auctore IV. Cf., Moreau Lislet & Carleton's trans. VIII. Preface, VIII. But Jacome (Jacobo) Ruiz had designated as "books of the sages" the works of the Italian jurists which he used (Altamira, *Continental Leg. Hist. Ser.*, I. 654).

⁵⁴ *Continental Legal Hist. Ser.*, I. 627-628.

⁵⁵ *Ante* n. 15.

⁵⁶ Altamira, *Continental Legal Hist. Ser.*, I. 629.

⁵⁷ *Roman Law* (4th ed. 1903), p. 107.

2. Canon Law

"The renaissance which was brought about in the Church from the time of Gregory VII." (1073-1085) notes Altamira,⁵⁸

carried with it an extension of the Church's power, a favorable modification of its relations with the State, and the enlargement of the personal and real immunities of the clergy, the latter being reflected in the practices of civil law. At the same time . . . the Church was . . . subjecting to its jurisdiction and to the rule of the canon law many institutions of the civil law, such as marriage, usurious loans, rent-charges, etc. The slow penetration of that law into the customs and statute-book of Castile is particularly observable in the field of family law, beginning with marriage itself, and in certain classes of contract,—not to mention the modifications it produced in the fields of public, political, and criminal law (concession of the crown by the pope, absolution of the subjects from oaths of allegiance, changes in criminal procedure).

Moreover, here as in the case of Roman law, a new repository had become available. Gratian's *Decretum*, the first formal compilation of Canon law, in anything resembling completeness, appeared before the middle of the century preceding the *Partidas* and became well known in Spain. Again, "at the Papal court many Spaniards won distinction as canonists".⁵⁹ Among these was Raymundo de Penafort, "the famous compiler of the 'Decretals' of Gregory IX as found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*".⁶⁰ These "Decretals" appeared in 1234, about a score of years before the composition of the *Partidas* was undertaken, and seem to have been extensively used therein.

Nevertheless, the *Partidas* do not always follow the Canon law. Sometimes they lag behind; as where the former retain unequal standards of marital fidelity as between husband and wife,⁶¹ in place of the single standard established by the latter.⁶² On the other hand the secular law forbids a widow to remarry within a year while the church law imposes no restriction.⁶³

3. Maritime Law

Brissaud observes:⁶⁴

⁵⁸ *Continental Leg. Hist. Ser.*, I. 634.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 656.

⁶⁰ Sherman, *Roman Law in the Modern World*, I. 280; cf., p. 220.

⁶¹ *Partida* VII. tit. XVII (I).

⁶² *Corpus Juris Canonici Decr.* II-VI, pp. 4, 5.

⁶³ *Partida* IV. (XII) (III).

⁶⁴ *History of French private Law* (trans. *Continental Leg. Hist. Ser.*, I. 242).

In the middle ages the maritime law had become international. . . . By the thirteenth century the *Consulat de la Mer* on the Mediterranean, and the *Roles d'Oleron* on the Atlantic, form the common law of maritime commerce.

Spanish territory bordered both of these great seas and the compilers of the *Partidas* had the benefit of each of these maritime collections. On the one hand that portion of *Partida V.* which treats of maritime law, "bears", it is said,⁶⁵

so strong a family likeness to the Rules of Oleron, the basis of English maritime law, that if these are not derived from it, both have probably a common parent in the *Consulado*.

The latter, on the other hand,

is said to have been digested at Barcelona, in the Catalan tongue, during the middle ages, by order of the kings of Aragon. The Spaniards vindicated the claim of their country to the honor of this compilation; and the opinion of Casaregis, who published an Italian edition of it at Venice, in 1737, with an excellent commentary, and of Boucher, who, in 1808, translated the *Consolato* into French from an edition printed at Barcelona in 1494, are in favor of the Spanish claim.⁶⁶

It would seem, therefore, that the compilers of the *Partidas* had material enough at hand for this phase of their task without resorting to the "Digest", even accepting the claim of Benedict⁶⁷ that all of it was Roman save the "Rhodian principles".

4. Native Law

This brings us to the question, "How much real native law found its way into the *Partidas*"? That some of it did, there can be no doubt. The compilers used the *fueros* of Castille and León at whose history, we have glanced, together with others of Cuenca and Córdoba, all of which contributed to the structure of the *Partidas*. Occasional and exceptional provisions like the number 12 for inquisitions and the presumption of guilt are apparently of Visigothic origin. But no evidence has been found that this source was more than local or that the outside barbarian collections, which had appeared from time to time, in any way influenced the *Partidas*. If there was a movement throughout Europe toward the formulation of law, it would seem

⁶⁵ Raikes, *Maritime Codes of Spain and Portugal* (1896), Preface.

⁶⁶ Kent, *Commentaries on American Law*, III. 10, 11.

⁶⁷ "The Historical Position of the Rhodian Law", in *Yale Law Journal*, XVIII. 223.

not to have been international nor interrelated, but to have received its common inspiration from Italy. Surely is it not without significance that the authors of the *Partidas* in Spain and Bracton in England, working contemporaneously, but unknown to each other, alike drew Roman law from Azo.

CHARACTER AND PLACE

If we are correct in our interpretation of Alfonso's purpose and policy, we must conclude with Altamira⁶⁸ that it was his

wish to prepare a statute or code expressive of the new influences of the Canon and Roman law in order to impose it as a common law . . . upon all his subjects.

Regardless, however, of what the king's intent may have been, the effect of his undertaking was, ultimately, to produce that very result. For the large infusion of Roman doctrines through the *Partidas* changed the character of Spanish law. From a system which expressly forbade⁶⁹ its adherents to "borrow from the Roman laws", it became one in which the Roman element predominated. Thus, the *Partidas* mark the reception of the Roman law in Spain. And when we recall that this eventually included the Spanish colonies and that thereby more than half of the western hemisphere, not to mention other countries, became legally Romanized, we realize how important a landmark was this in the evolution of world law.

Again the *Partidas* represent a significant step toward codification. Doubtless the idea had been suggested by Gratian's *Decretum* as well as by the revival of interest in Justinian's books; but the *Partidas* were the first extensive compilation of western secular law, after Justinian. For while there had been barbarian collections and books of customs and while the century of the birth of the *Partidas* saw also the completion of the *Sachsenspiegel*⁷⁰ and the so called "Ordinance of St. Louis",⁷¹ none of these approach the *Partidas* in comprehensiveness and influence.

ESTIMATES

And not alone in these particulars, but also in content have the merits of the *Partidas* been recognized. Naturally Spanish writers were the first to do so.

⁶⁸ *Continental Legal Hist. Ser.*, I. 621.

⁶⁹ *Forum Judicum*, II. (I. 8, 9).

⁷⁰ See Altamira, *Continental Legal Hist. Ser.*, I. 318-320, 342-344.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

Nicolas Antonio remarked, in paraphrase of Cicero, that the *Partidas* were superior to all libraries.⁷² Antequera⁷³ characterized it as the monumental work of Alfonso's reign, the most advanced legal collection for that time which saw the light in Europe, which has had no rival in later times, which has been and is the object of admiration of our own and foreign peoples, to which both the adherents and opponents of its doctrines have paid the tribute of lofty eulogies, and which by the extraordinary character of its conception and the superiority of its merit has received the homage of profound respect and enthusiastic applause even from those who, in this century, judge the works of remote times with an unfavorable estimate and an exacting standard.

Altamira⁷⁴ tells us that

His fame, which corresponded to the merits of its execution, rapidly opened it a way and gave it, among the embodiments of the national legal genius, a rank as high as any which Alfonso's ambition could have craved for it.

Indeed, the *Partidas* have so continued to grow in favor among Spaniards that they are regarded with as much pride and reverence as is the Federal Constitution among Americans and the manuscript text of the former, now preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, is one of the prized treasures of the Spanish nation.

ARRANGEMENT AND CONTENTS

One author praises the *Partidas* "for natural arrangement". Whatever is meant by the term "natural" in that connection, it certainly is not a logical arrangement. The division into seven "parts" or books is purely arbitrary (there might better have been six or eight) and avowedly symbolical.⁷⁵ Doubtless the suggestion was reinforced by the following passage from the introduction⁷⁶ to Justinian's *Digest*:

We have divided the books into seven parts, not incorrectly nor without reason, but as regards the nature and use of numbers and in order to make a division of parts in keeping therewith.

⁷² *Códigos Españoles*, II. int. XXIII; where estimates of other writers are given.

⁷³ *Historia de la Legislación Española*, p. 265.

⁷⁴ *Continental Legal Hist. Ser.*, I. 630.

⁷⁵ See the *Prólogo* (Setenario, pp. 4, 5) where the sacred character of the number 7 is elaborated at great length.

⁷⁶ *Constitutio Tanta* (Monro's ed.), XXVI. Cf. La Serna, *Códigos Españoles*, 2 Int. XV; Howe, *Studies in Civil Law* (2nd Ed.), p. 142.

But that number had long been a conspicuous feature of universal symbolism.⁷⁷ What was really new in the *Partidas* was the utilization of that feature in forming an acrostic of Alfonso's name from the first letter of the initial words of each part's introduction. That this arrangement had no relation to the subject matter of the parts well appears from the prologue to *Partida* IV. (which it recites, "we have placed in the middle of the seven *Partidas* . . . just as the heart is placed in the middle of the body") and also from the following *conspéctus*:

<i>Introduction</i>	<i>Partida</i>	<i>Subject Matter</i>
A' servicio de dios	I	Law in general; <i>fueros</i> (customs), ecclesiastical regulations (a digest of Canon law ⁷⁸)
L a fé catolica	II	Government and administration
F izo nuestro señor	III	Procedure and property ⁷⁹
O nras señaladas	IV	Domestic relations
N acen entre homes	V	Obligations ⁸⁰ and maritime laws ⁸¹
S esudamente dijeron	VI	Wills and inheritance; guardians
O lividanza et atrevimiento	VII	Crimes; exegesis (interpretation); general principles

It is obvious enough now that the general matter in Books I and VII should have been combined; that Books III and V, should each have been divided and that the provisions relating to guardians in Book VI belong in Book IV. But we are not to expect either scientific accuracy or logical arrangement from thirteenth century minds. In these particulars their work certainly excels the *Forum Judicum* and the wonder is that they did so well, even with their Roman models.

CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGIER.

Washington, D. C.

⁷⁷ See Pike, *Morals and Dogma*, pp. 58-60, 727-731.

⁷⁸ "Not less symbolic was the number 7 (probably due to its being, as Philo says, a combination of 3 + 4, or, as some hold, 3 + 1 + 3, and not, as more commonly supposed, based on astrological reasons. . . . Among the Romans we have also clear evidence of its influence, as in the 7 kings, hills, testamentary seals (and witnesses), etc. See Aulus Gellius, N. A. III, 10, 17; Apuleius, *Metamorph.* XI, 238". H. Goudy, *Trichotomy in Roman Law* (Oxford, 1910), pp. 10, 11 n.

⁷⁹ Hunter, *Roman Law*, p. 107.

⁸⁰ "Taken from Roman Law almost exclusively" (see *ibid.*).

⁸¹ "Almost word for word from Roman Law" (see *ibid.*).

⁸² "Bears so strong a family likeness to the Rules of Olerón the basis of English Maritime Law, that if these are not derived from it, both have probably a common parent in the *Consulado*" (Raikes, *Maritime Codes of Spain and Portugal*, 1896, Preface).

THE ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON FUND FOR THE PURCHASE OF HISPANIC BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

[Address delivered at the annual meeting of the American Library Association, Washington, May, 1929.]

Blanco Fombona, the distinguished Venezuelan, author, and publisher, has said—and, I think, truly said—that letters are the best vehicle of the affections—“*las letras son el mejor vehículo de los afectos*”. This, it seems to me, applies not only to the individual but to the nation as well. Acquaintance with national and racial ideals and aspirations, with intellectual and spiritual values, forms the basis upon which must be predicated international understanding. The elements of such acquaintanceship are potent in the forces that operate to guarantee peace, accord, and solidarity among nations.

And it is the nobler mission of the book to bring about such an international feeling. In the absence of protracted personal contacts—a privilege that few can enjoy—it is the printed page that introduces us into another sphere of thoughts, ideals, mental attitudes, social, political, and economic life.

With respect to inter-American relations, the ideas that I have expressed find confirmation in the eloquent discourse of Dr. Olaya, given yesterday before a section of this association. Recognizing the importance and significance of financial, commercial, and diplomatic relations, the present need of an intensified cultural approach, of a true intellectual and spiritual approximation, is obvious.

I need not, before those present, call attention to the fact that in devotion to Hispanic studies, we have in this country a noble tradition to follow—the tradition left by Ticknor, by Prescott, by Longfellow, by Irving. And the degree to which the present generation is emulating the example of those eminent pioneers justifies honest pride. The development of a group of enthusiastic and competent scholars, the great extension of the study of the Hispanic languages and literature in our schools, colleges, and universities, and the striking increase in Hispanic material in our libraries, are some indication of such activities.

It is my privilege at the present moment to speak in only brief and general terms of what the National Library, using the resources made available by the generosity of Mr. Archer Huntington, is trying to do in furnishing material for, and promoting, Hispanic studies.

It was inevitable that interest in Hispanic America, as reflected in debates in congress, in the initiation of diplomatic relations during the early days of the nascent republics and in the events leading to the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine, should have developed a correspondingly strong interest in the acquisition of Hispanic American material by the Library of Congress.

That interest, increasing with the importance of our relations with the republics of the south and with the attention paid to the study of Hispanic American history, economic growth, and culture, has manifested itself concretely in the development of an extensive and valuable collection of books on the colonial history of Hispanic America, including the period of discovery, conquest, and settlement, and material illustrating the progress of geographical knowledge and cartography of America in the sixteenth century. The collection is also rich in primary and secondary material for the study of the political, economic, and social history of the republics that emerged from the disintegration of the colonial empires of Spain and Portugal. Moreover, its collection of documents and law is probably unequalled on the continent.

Even in the earlier years of the history of the library when it was housed with inadequate accommodations in the capitol, its then meager appropriation for the purchase of books, never exceeding \$10,000.00 annually, did permit of the acquisition, under favorable conditions of the market, of many rare and intrinsically valuable books.

A new order of library affairs began in 1897, with the occupancy by the library of its new building. This meant a great expansion of its activities and brought concrete recognition of its importance in the form of large increases in the funds made available by congress for the acquisition of material.

Since that time systematic efforts have been made toward the development of the collection of books relating to Hispanic America. Today this collection is one of outstanding importance. It is, moreover, a powerful factor, in connection with the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union, with the archives of the Department of State and other government archives, in making Washington the most important center in this country for Hispanic American research.

The library, however, even with its augmented funds, could not develop its collections in all fields in an equal and symmetrical man-

ner. It was, for example, unable to acquire books relating to the history, culture, and art of Spain and Portugal save in a very selective and limited way. Nor was it possible to develop its collection of Spanish American literature as comprehensively and exhaustively as was desirable.

The year 1927 was marked by an event of signal significance in the history of the library—an event that gave a new orientation to the policy and practice of the library with respect to the acquisition of Hispanica and Hispanoamericana. I refer to the gift by Mr. Archer M. Huntington to the Library of Congress of \$100,000.00, the income from which is to be devoted to the purchase of books that relate to Spanish, Portuguese, and South American arts, crafts, literature, and history.

Mr. Huntington, founder and president of the Hispanic Society of America, is internationally known as a Hispanic scholar and a generous patron of Hispanic studies. The magnificently housed library of the Hispanic Society in New York is one of the most valuable collections of Hispanic material in the world. It will stand as an enduring monument to the founder's fine scholarship and unwavering devotion to the encouragement and stimulation of Hispanic studies in the United States. His noble gift to the Library of Congress extends the field of his influence in a notable way, by making it possible for a national institution, through its own broad field of activities, to promote the study of Hispanic history and culture.

The conditions which determine the application and administration of this splendid fund may be authoritatively described by quoting Dr. Putnam's letter to Mr. Huntington dated November 14, 1927, quoted from the *Report* of the Librarian of Congress:

DEAR MR. HUNTINGTON: You have asked whether the Library of Congress (*i.e.*, our Trust Fund Board, in its behalf), would accept a fund of which the income would be applicable to the purchase of books for its collections, the books to become the property of the Library, upon the understanding:

"That the books purchased shall relate to Spanish, Portuguese, and South American arts, crafts, literature, and history only; that the said books shall have been published not more than ten years previously; that a list of such books shall at once be forwarded upon receipt by the Library of Congress to the Hispanic Society of America; and that the latter shall be permitted to select those needed by the members of the staff and competent scholars for use at the Hispanic Society for the period of three months; that the entire income of the fund be expended annually."

I am sure that the Trust Fund Board would gladly welcome, and the Library Committee approve acceptance of, such a fund; and that the suggested stipulations would form no obstacle. No book desired for the uses of the Hispanic Society or its sister institutions would be less than a desirable acquisition for the Library of Congress; nor would the initial preferential use of it by them in any way impair its utility for the later general service here, including further service to them also, if required, since any volume in our collections capable of issue would under our regular policy be issued to them as an "Inter Library" loan.

Acceptance of the fund, coupled with the stipulations, would attach the latter securely to the application of the income, the board being a trustee, responsible for the observance of such stipulations, and with a control quite independent of the whim or indifference of the library administration for the time being, could such be predicated. And the board is a quasi corporation, with perpetual succession, and all the usual powers and obligations of a trustee. It may even, as the "United States" may not, be held to account in the courts.

Moreover, I am confident that the authorities of the Library would not merely loyally but with enthusiasm fulfill their duty under an arrangement so magnanimous, so ingenious in effecting a multiple benefit, and, by its example, so certain to exercise a salutary influence upon both the policy of institutions and the method of benefactions.

Faithfully yours,

[Signed] HERBERT PUTNAM,
Librarian of Congress.

I wish to stress two significant stipulations that limit the application of the fund. In the first place, books purchased shall have been published not more than ten years previously. In the second place, books relating to Mexico, Central America, and the Antilles are excluded from the operation of the fund.

It may be of interest at this point to consider to what degree the income of the fund covers the field to which it is applicable.

Some preliminary considerations are necessary. The library is the beneficiary of certain unique sources of increase among which may be mentioned (1) the copyright deposits, (2) the returns from international exchange and (3) the returns from the exchanges of the Smithsonian Institution with learned societies throughout the world.

Giving consideration to these sources from which the library receives much material that would otherwise have to be purchased, and considering also the present literary output of the countries to which the fund is applicable, we believe that the library will be able to buy this material extensively, if not exhaustively. We hope that the research man and the student will find in the library collections not only the greater but also the lesser gods of contemporary literature.

This conclusion seems justified by our experience of the past year during which period we have been making purchases with the income from the fund. Our acquisitions numbering some 2,000 volumes have covered the period from 1918 to 1928, and the material thus acquired is significant of what the collection will be when we are able to apply the whole annual income to the purchase of books published during one year.

It is obvious, however, that if the library depends wholly upon the income from the fund under the stipulations controlling its application, the resulting collection will be top heavy and unbalanced—very strong in contemporary material but relatively weak in those sections it had not been able previously to develop. In order to remedy this condition and to possess a rounded collection, fully adequate to the demands of scholarly research, the library must have recourse to the general appropriation for selective and discriminating purchases of material published prior to 1918.

There remains to be considered the significance of this generous donation.

The library assumes a primary obligation with respect to books purchased by the proceeds of the fund. This is expressed in the stipulations: "that a list of such books shall at once be forwarded upon receipt by the Library of Congress to the Hispanic Society of America; and that the latter shall be permitted to select those needed by the members of the staff and competent scholars for use at the Hispanic Society for the period of three months".

By the terms of this stipulation the material purchased by the library is primarily and specifically subject to a demand by the Hispanic Society for the prosecution of its own activities. This obligation, however, does not lessen to any appreciable degree the value of this material in the library's activities.

By means of the printed catalogue cards which are prepared by the library staff and sent to various depository catalogues and to corporate and individual subscribers, the library will sensibly spread information concerning the current bibliography of Spain, Portugal, and Hispanic America among institutions and individuals lacking the bibliographic resources of the Library of Congress. This will doubtless tend to promote the business of publishers in these countries.

The development of the collection of books acquired through the proceeds of the fund, and by purchases charged to the general ap-

propriations of the library for material published prior to 1918 should operate to make the library of Congress a center for Hispanic studies. It should attract students and research men. It should stimulate graduate studies in Hispanic history, languages, literature, and art among the universities of the District. It should, in short, in connection with other factors previously indicated, make Washington the most important center in the United States for these studies.

Lastly, the promotion of studies in the history, literature, and culture of Hispanic America in the Capital, which is the center of diplomatic contacts, should exert a marked influence in developing those relations of understanding, sympathy, and intellectual acquaintanceship upon which must be predicated wholesome and enduring international relations. Much has already been accomplished in the development of sound inter-American relations. Commercial intercourse alone has done much to promote reciprocal interest and acquaintanceship. Such results have throughout the history of civilization always followed commercial relations. But there have been other significant contacts, not wholly commercial or political, but intellectual and cultural. As illustrations of these we shall mention the various pan-American Congresses, the visits of Mr. Root and more recently of President Hoover, the increasing flow of students from Hispanic America to our schools and universities, and the exchange of university professors. All of these constructive influences will, we think, be encouraged and strengthened as a result of this fund, influences constructive in the promotion of mutual understanding and respect between Anglo Saxon and Hispanic America, two types of culture, not antagonistic but complementary.

C. K. JONES.

Library of Congress.

NOTES

Another of the important series "Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano" being published by the Secretariat of Foreign Relations in Mexico, has recently appeared. This is No. 30 of that series and is entitled *Comentarios de Francisco Zarco sobre la Intervención Francesa (1861-1863)*. An excellent prologue (pp. VII-XXXV) by Antonio de la Peña y Reyes precedes the *Comentarios*.

The Pan American Union reports that very gratifying progress has been made with respect to the Bibliographical Conference to be held in the near future in accordance with the resolution adopted at the last Pan American Conference. Reports have been made by the advisory committee and by a number of the national committees. Keen interest has been aroused over the conference and it is fully expected that the action taken therein will be most conducive to bibliographical coöperation among the countries of the Americas.

The Library of the Pan American Union has compiled under date of July 1, 1929, a mimeographed list of fourteen pages of the "Recent Books in English on Description and Travel of Latin America, Including a few References on Pan Americanism and the Monroe Doctrine". The list is limited to books known to be in print. Under date of July 10, the same library issued a mimeographed compilation of fourteen pages on "Sources of Information for Books on Latin America". This list is composed of three parts, namely: (1) List of Magazines containing reviews of new Books; (2) List of Library and book-trade Journals; (3) List of Book Dealers with some Details regarding them. Both lists will be found of considerable use, and can probably be furnished within the limits of the editions to those making request for them.

An Executive Decree, published in the GACETA OFICIAL of Caracas, Venezuela, July 15, appropriates the sum of Bs. 160,000 (about \$32,000) for the publication of the "Archivo del Generalísimo Francisco Miranda," which comprises the manuscript collection of the Miranda diaries and letters now in the possession of the Venezuelan Academy of History. This sum is made available for the fiscal year 1929/30, and it is understood that further appropriations will be made as required.

INDEX TO VOLUME IX

- A** **BADI**, Juan: repts. on Fr. Acad., 64; brings repts. from Fr., 89.
- Abbey**, Kathryn Trimmer: article, 265-85; cited, 266 n.
- Absolutism**: reëstabl. in Spain, 158.
- Abuses**: council discusses religious, 347; corregidor, source of, 447, 467-70; Croix corrects in Peru, 497-8. *See also* Crimes.
- Academy of History (Venezuela)**: MSS. in, 551.
- Acapulco**, Mex.: a trade center, 9; illicit trade at, 488; Croix gov. of, 488.
- Acayucan**, Mex.: Olaete in, 85; Coste not in, 86.
- Accounts**: reforms in keeping, 503.
- Acobamba Valley**, repop., 493.
- Acosta**, Petrus de: Cosenza writes, 361-3; cited, 182.
- Acqueduct**: Aztec, 206.
- Acts**: of U. S. cong., 417, 418, 420, 442.
- Adams**, E. D.: reviews book, 507-8.
- Adams**, Henry: cited, 420 n, 422 n, 423 n, 442 n.
- Adams**, John (pres. of U. S.): member of war board, 271 n; negotiates with Gt. Brit., 483.
- Adams**, John Quincy: returns to U. S. 36; helps determine foreign policy of U. S., 36; draws up instructions, 40; assumes duties, 43; negotiates with Gt. Brit., 483; letters to and by, cited, 38 n, 39, 39 n, 40 n, 43 n, 49 n, 53, 484; writings, cited, 48 n, 49 n, 50 n, 57.
- Adams**, Samuel: member of war board, 271 n.
- Address**: at Cadiz, 147; Maximilian delivers, 355-6.
- Adelantados**: corregidores compared to, 448, 453.
- Adet**, Pierre Auguste (Fr. min. to U. S.): makes protest, 96-7; Fr. victims write to, 97; cited, 97 n.
- Adulterations**: milk, 462.
- Africa**: Mohammedanism in, destroyed, 203; Figueroa sentenced to presidio in, 498.
- Agencies**: land, in Mex., 349.
- Agents**: Span. act for foreigners, 9-10; acts, for shipping, 24; foreign, barred from Indies, 25; special, sent to S. A., 33 n, 34; Poinsett acts as, 37-8; U. S., in Span. col., 41, 44; suggested that Fr. be sent to Philadelphia, 72; Clark acts as, for Fr. Republic, 76; French rev'nary, in U. S., 78; Fr., in La., 81; missionary, 84; political, neglectful, 158; eccles., sent to Europe, 159; former mistakes rdg., avoided, 160; Muzi accused of being, of Holy Alliance, 164; of Maximilian, 164 n; Tejada, the best, sent to Rome, 167; eccles., invited to Rome, 169; Spain objects to pope receiving, from Amer., 170; Cortés sends, to Spain, 179; Velásquez, *id.*, 180; of foreign houses in Spain, 181-2; Haro's in Seville, 185; Anglo-Amer. com'l, 267 n; *id.*, in New Orleans, 267 n; Span. in Amer., 272; Amer. in Span. terr., 275, 275 n; Span. and Fr., 277; Span. in foreign countries, 288; French in Caribbean, 301; special royal, 448; sent to viceroy, 469.
- Agia**, Father ———: Solórzano refers to, 146; upholds rights of Ind., 146.
- Agreements**: Bolívar considers with Rome, 158.
- Agriculture**: in E. Fla., 417; intendant fails to encourage, 502.
- Agrisalua**. *See* Grijalva.
- Aguardiente**: in cargo, 27; made from sugar cane, 27.
- Aguilar**, ———: cited, 93 n, 94 n.
- Aguilar**, Gerónimo de: interpreter for Cortés, 192.

- Aguilar y Marocho, Ignacio (Mex. min. at Rome): diplomatic acts, 326; has not dealt with reforms, 333.
- Aguirre, Manuel Hermenejildo de: sent to U. S., 34; energetic, 35 n; cited 35.
- Aiton, Arthur Scott: translator and editor, 258.
- Alachua (dist. in Fla.): Ind. of, join Span., 441; rev'nists set up gov't. in, 444.
- Alamán, Lucas: cited, 60 n.
- Alaminos, Antón de (Grijalva's pilot); his advice, 177; gives info. of Cortés, 181; commands ship, 186.
- Alaves, Alonso (teniente to corregidor): protests ruling of corregidor, 455.
- Albemarle, Earl of: letters to and by, cited, 304 n, 308 n, 314, 314 n. *See* Keppel, George.
- Alcalá, Madrid, Spain: Cortés held at, 537.
- Alcaldes: regular judicial officials, 448; corregidor replaces, 449.
- Alcaldes mayores: provinces under, 446, commit evils, 447.
- Alcudia, Duke of: letters to, cited, 62 n, 79 n, 80 n, 88 n, 89 n, 91 n, 94, 95, 95 n, 96 n; repts. made to, 79, 85.
- Alexander VI.: grants concession to Span. king, 155; arbiter of new laws, 212.
- Alfonseca, J. D., O. P.: negotiates treaty, 385.
- Alfonso X. (king of Spain): called "El Sabio", 531; called Span. Justinian, 535 n; activities in law, 531-3; causes pub. of the *Especulo*, 531; compared to other lawgivers, 534; a zealous author, 534; his code gains in favor, 536; acrostic on his name, 544; characterized, 535, 536; cited, 531 n-32 n.
- Alfonso XI. (king of Spain): recognizes *Partidas*, 537; officials under, 448.
- Alguacil: corregidor app., 453.
- Allies: Eng. desired as, 69.
- Almanacs: on index, 63.
- Almeria: discovery, location, and native name; 178. *See also* Nauthla.
- Almon, John: cited, 303 n, 310 n, 311 n.
- Almonte, ———: church protests decree by, 338.
- Alms: Maximilian gives, 352-3; Croix gives, 503.
- Alocuciones Cartas oficiales*: cited, 353 n.
- Altamira, Dr. Rafael de: undervalues Cabildo, 150; cited, 20 n, 532, 532 n, 533, 533 n, 534, 534 n, 536, 536 n, 537 n, 539, 539 n, 540 n, 542, 542 n, 543, 543 n.
- Alto Peru: name for Bolivia (*q. v.*), 109.
- Alvarado, Pedro de: in Cuba, 177; aids, Maese Joan, 374.
- Alvarez de Abreu, Antonio: legal operations, 27.
- Alvarez Pineda, Alonso: pilots exped., 178.
- Alvarez Osorio y Redin, ———: cited, 14 n.
- Alvear, Brig. Gen. Carlos M. de (envoy of Argentina in U. S.): protests action of Duncan, 485, 487.
- Amaqmockha. *See* Amecameca.
- Ambassadors: Montezuma sends to Cortés, 177; Fr. and Span., 277; duties of Span., 288; nuncio receives honors of, 328; gifts shown to, 363.
- Amecameca (Amaqmockha, Amaqueruca), Mex.: location and pop., 205.
- Amendments: to Mex. constitution, 321 n-22 n.
- America: conquest on high moral plane, 145; moral equality in Span., 145; Span. objects in, 274; does not change Span., 289; need of Span. race in, 329; condition in, different than in Spain, 489. Council of Indies has authority in, 4-5 (*see also* Councils); Span. possessions in, 76; Span. send agts. to, 275 n; wars extend to, 286; defense of, 286-302; Spain neglects defense, 287; complaint of foreign attitude toward, 70, 296; Span. col. pay taxes,

- 296; Span. ships sail for, 297 (*see also* Ships); Croix's service in, 504. Miranda's reputation in, 69; French intend to use Imlay in, 73; rev'n. threatened in, 82; Muzi's jurisdiction includes all, 162; eccles. patents sent to, 499; Dutch in, 300; Eng. gain foothold in, 301; reaction in, rdg., capture of Havana, 303-16; oldest univ. in 107-14. Trade to, dislocates old trade routes, 2; Span. trade system in, 3-6; com'l. monopolies in, 5; trading co. proposed for, 7, 29; trade center for, 9; trade status, 13; officials investigate smuggling in, 26. *See also* all other "America" and "American" captions following; *and* Indies.
- America, Anglo: rev'n, plans slowly take shape in, 76; reaction in, of capture of Havana, 303-16. *See also* all other "America" and "American" captions.
- America, Central: supplied from Vera Cruz, 4; little market in, 27; an econ. unit with Mex., 151; books on, catalogued, 252; books on, not to be bo't. from Huntington fund, 54-8. *See also* the several Central American countries.
- America, Hispanic: ed'l. tendencies in, 112; principles of republican epoch, 144; moral factors in, 144; contrast at different periods, 144; various factors continuous in, 145; mistake relative to independence, 145; gov't. factors in, 145; interest in, increasing, 251; scholarship in, 260-61; value of U. S. investments in, 389; U. S. interest in, 546; visitors to, 550. At meeting of Amer. Hist. Ass'n., 241-43; bibliogr. of, and project B, 251-3; bibliogr. info. on, needed, 251; libraries of, catalogues, 252; rept. of bibliogr. of history of, 254-7; U. S. needs libraries in, 518; fellowships for, 527; books on, 546. *See also* America; America, Central; America, Latin; America, South; America, Span.; *and* the various Hisp. Amer. countries.
- America, Latin: libraries on, catalogued, 252; important, 522; shipping facilities to, increased, 523; U. S. investments in, 523-4; friends of, in U. S., 525; charges against, 525-6. *See also* the preceding caption, *and* the other captions mentioned therein.
- America, North: Span. fleets for, 4; Span. claims in, discarded, 67; religious element in univ. in, 108. *See also* Mexico; *and* United States.
- America, Portuguese: French influence in, 111. *See also* Brazil, 111.
- America, Republic: monarchical Europe arrayed against, 36.
- America, South: size and pop., 523; products, 523; an econ. unity, 151; importance, 522. Independence desired in, 31; situation in, changes, 58; despotism in, 81; beginning of independence, 111; factors in, working toward new régime, 144-54; Great Colombia, best organized govt. in, 167; rev'n. in northern, 416. Distributing center for, 4; Span. fleets for, 4; privateering in, 48 n; Spaniards hunt slaves in, 176. Poinsett, special agt. to, 33 n; U. S. com'n sent to, 36 n, 41, 42; Prevost returns to, 38 n; Rodney app. min. in, 39 n; attitude of U. S. toward, 45; Brackenridge's *id.*, 50. Oldest univ. in, 107-14; turns to France for ed'l. methods, 111; papal attitude toward Cath. in, 165 n; books on, catalogued, 252; U. S. lib'y. needed in, 518; bulletin for study of, 520-22; visitors in, 523; Haring studies fellowships in, 528. *See also* America; America, Hispanic; America, Latin; America, Spanish; *and* the several Hispanic American countries.
- America, Spanish: peculiar conditions in, 447; easy of capture, 76; position of Creoles in, 148; Span. forms of govt.

in, 149-50; govt. slow in acting, 158; intendencia planned for, 447; govt. of cities in, 449-50; attitude of Ind. in, 470; old and modern ideals, 150; importance of Havana for, 310; will be guided by new world policy, 522; *Partidas*, basic law in, 537. Span. trade under, 19; rev'n in, 31; movements of rev'n in north, 415; Miranda plans to liberate, 66; change in his plans rdg., 70; revolt and emancipation, 154; Spain anxious to retain control, 155, 158; Ferdinand wishes restoration in, 165; republics not recognized, 156; gains independence, 156; (*see also below*, Relations with papacy); lost to Spain, 156-7; Spain loses its opportunity in, 158. Relations with other countries, etc.—attitude lowered in, U. S., 33, 35; U. S. agts. in, 34; attitude of certain Anglo-Amer. toward, 37, 72-3; effect of com'n. on, 58-9. Proposals rdg., to Brit., 66; many Eng. Prot. in, 167; Eng.'s com'l. importance in, 169. Liberation, considered by Girondists, 68; Fr. plans to liberate, 72-3, 81; Fr. armies in, 74, 75; Fr. influence in, 111; Fr. desires to protect church in, 169. Relation with papacy and eccles. affairs—papacy and independence of, 154-75; king exercises eccles. control in, 154; question confronting vatican, 154; republics do not inherit real patronato, 155; church establ. by legislation, 155; pope respects Span. rights in, 156; eccles. affairs suffer in, 157; episcopacy disorganized, 160; psychological moment for Span. Amer. passes, 160; titular bps. in, not subject to real patronato, 162; first papal letter to political chief in, 163; beginning of *modus vivendi* with papacy, 165; encyclical issued to prelates of, 165-6; effect of encyclical on, 166-7; pope resolves to receive agts. from, 167; national churches desired

in, 167; France desires to protect church in, 169; eccles. tendencies in, 169; pope desires to provide spiritual relief for, 169-70; Spain objects to agts. from, in Rome, 170; Leo XII.'s policy toward, 170; condition of church in, 171; pope plans to preconize bps. for, 171; pope's reason for not recognizing independence, 172; independence recognized by Gregory XVI., 172-3; bps. preconized for, 173; patronage still troubles, 175; first nuncio to, 175. Cultural life, etc.—few periodicals pub. in, 34; eccles. control of ed'n in, 108; procedure of univ. in, 109-10; ed'l tendencies in, 113; ed'l reforms in, 152; libraries of, catalogued, 252. *See also* other "America" and "American" captions.

American Foreign Law Ass'n.: paper read before, 529.

American Geographical Society: Coöperation secured, 259.

American Historical Ass'n.: papers read at meeting of, 132, 144, 154; discussion at meeting of, 258; *Report*, cited, 71 n, 72 n, 73 n, 74 n, 75 n, 76 n, 77 n, 78 n, 79 n, 80 n.

American Jewish Historical Society: notice, 128.

American Library Association: rept. made at meeting of, 516-20, 545-50.

American State Papers—For. Rel.: cited, 51 n, 53 n, 78 n, 419 n, 422 n, 425 n, 439 n, 440 n.

Americans: what they should know, 60; aid Fr. in contraband trade, 286. *See also* the "American" captions that follow.

Americans, Anglo (Eng. colonists and people of U. S.): friends of liberty, 71; join plans to liberate S. A., 72; given to drink, 79. Inhabit La., 71; Genêt's aims rdg., 75; Genêt secures, 86; Span. defenses against strengthened, 79; may take New Orleans, 80;

- endanger La., 82; Span. favor, 266; plan to seize Pensacola, 267; powder sold to, 267; form part of Gálvez's defense plan, 270; plan attack on Pensacola, 270-1; Span. agts. among 272; bring supplies for Willing, 273; expected to seize St. Augustine, 274; offer to guarantee Span. possession of Floridas, 275-6; desire free navigation of Mississippi, 276; proposal made to, to seize Floridas, 276; plans for aiding Span. forces, 277-9; Navarro's attitude toward, 279; absorption of Mex. by, feared, 329; occupy Baton Rouge, 419; planters in E. Fla., 424; will meet debts of Span. govt., 425; retire from Fort Moosa, 438, Gálvez writes cong., 272; cong. writes Gálvez, 272-3; rept. to, 277. *See also* America, Anglo; Americans, North; *and* United States.
- Americans, Central: U. S. lib'y. needed by, 518. *See also* America, Central.
- Americans, North: interest in Span.-Amer. increases, 33.
- Americans, South: U. S. attitude toward, 37; Poinsett knows, 38; Brackenridge sympathetic to, 40, 55; a people, be ginning to be, 45; U. S., the model for, 47; know people of U. S., 47; accuse U. S., 524-5. *See also* America, South; America, Span.; *and* the various countries of S. A.
- Americans, Spanish: interest toward, increases in U. S., 33; their attitude toward Gt. Brit., and U. S., 53; attitude of papacy toward, 156; in laws of Indies, 148; stiffened in sentiment of independence, 166; opposed to establ. of legitimate govt., 166; opposed to apostolic authority, 166; rev'nary movements within the independent movement, 415. *See also* America, Central; America, Hisp.; America, South; America, Span.; *and* the preceding "Americans" captions.
- Americas: discovery, 448; gold from, in Spain, 8; Church control in, 320; grave problems among, 524; bibliogr. coopération in, recommended, 251; bibliogr. outlook in, 387-9. *See* preceding "America" *and* "American" captions.
- Amherst, Gen. Jeffery, Lord (Brit. officer): headquarters in N. Y., 313; letter by, cited, 313 n.
- Amnesty: for E. Fla planned, 439-40; Onis communicates, 443.
- Ammunition: smuggled, 136; Spain sends to Yucatan, 140; ships arrive without, 290.
- Anarchy: books induce, 63; threatens Mex., 92.
- Ancona, Elegio: cited, 132 n, 133 n, 134 n, 135 n, 142 n, 143 n.
- Andorff, ———: compared to Seville, 206.
- Anghiera, Pietro Martirio d' (Peter Martyr): pub. info. rdg. Cortés, 181; cited, 179, 184, 199 n.
- Angostura, Ven.: action of Congress of, 158-9.
- Animals: Cortés has, 193-4, 204; Ind. frightened at, 194; in Mex., 196, 207, 208; as food, 201; in Fla., 202; used in trade, 212; assigned to Ind., 469; wild, 486. Named—bears, 202; boars, 196, 207; deer, 196, 202; dogs, 201; goats, 196; game, 208; hares, 196; hogs, 486; horses, 193-4, 204, 212; leopards, 207; lions, 196, 202, 207; mules, 469; rabbits, 196; sea-cows, 372; seals, 372, 374, 375, 474, 486; tigers, 196, 207; whales, 486.
- Annapolis, Md.: com'n. plans to sail from, 43.
- Annexation: Yucatan desires, to U. S., 136, 138; La. to Spain, 265; Fla. to Eng., 265; sentiment in U. S., for, of Cuba, 364-8.
- Antioquia, Colombia: bp. preconized at, 174.

- Antiquera, José María cited, 533 n, 534 n, 543, 543 n.
- Antoneli, Juan Bautista (Span. mil. engr.): sent to Indies, 292; his plans improved, 295; cited, 292 n.
- Antoneli, Cardinal Giacomo (papal sec'y of state): political activities, 320.
- Antonio, Nicolas: cited, 543.
- Antuñez y Acevedo, R.: cited, 14, 14 n, 19 n.
- Antwerp, Belgium: Salamanca in, 12.
- Aparici, ——— (Span. chargé in Rome): protests admittance of Cienfuegos to Rome, 161.
- Aponti Figueroa, Juan de: cited, 466, 466 n, 467.
- Appeals made to council, 459; intendant's procedure rdg., 502.
- Appointments: of Bland, 49 n; eccles., belongs to Span. crown, 319; by Maximilian, depleases clericals, 326; of corregidores, 449; viceroy exercises power of, 450; of Croix, as viceroy of Peru, 491; of intendants for Peru, 491.
- Appropriations: Clay attempts to put item in, 58; for occupation of Floridas, 420-1.
- Aragon, Spain: represented on junta, 12 n; *fueros* of, 530.
- Aranda, Pedro Barca y Boleo, conde de: frames constitution, 149; letters to, cited, 70 n, 83 n, 86 n.
- Araoz, ———: letter by, cited, 86 n.
- Araya, Cumaná: salt pans at, 294.
- Arbitrations: fur seal (1892), 484.
- Archbishops: encyclical addressed to, 156, 166.
- Archers: Aztecs are, 201; Floridian Ind. are, 202.
- Archives: MSS. in—Simancas, 9 n, 10 n, 12 n, 13 n, 245 n, 267 n, 284 n, 288 n, 300 n; Archivo de Indias, 11 n, 15 n, 16 n, 18 n, 23 n, 25 n, 27 n, 62 n, 72 n, 80 n, 82 n, 83 n, 87 n, 95 n, 186 n, 245 n, 247-8, 266 n, 268 n, 269 n, 271 n, 274 n, 275 n, 276 n, 278 n, 279 n, 280 n, 281 n, 282 n, 283 n, 284 n, 288 n, 290 n, 291 n, 292 n, 293 n, 294 n, 295 n, 296 n, 298 n, 299 n, 301 n, 369, 370; Archivo Histórico Nacional, 26 n, 245-6, 300 n; in Cuba, 243, 273 n, 280 n, 281 n, 283 n; in Mex., 244, 245 n, 551; Ayer Collection, 266 n, 267 n, 273 n; in Canada, 269 n; in France, 420 n. *See also* Libraries.
- Arequipa, Peru; King app. corregidores for, 458; bp. of, 501; orphanage provided in, 503.
- Argentina (Argentine Confederation): adopts constitution, 34 n; resources, 522; historians of, appreciate U. S. com'n., 56; papal attempt with, fails, 163; titular bp. app. in, 174; Falkland Is. dispute betw. U. S. and, 471-87; hostilities with Brazil, 473; controversy with Gt. Brit., 485; relations with U. S. broken, 486-7; North Americans, should visit, 523. Prizes awarded in, 116; most popular novelist of, 116-26; Wast writes of history of, 121-2. *See also* Buenos Aires.
- Aristotle: his philosophy displaced, 152.
- Armies: rev'nists plan to control in Mex., 92; officers in, 267 n; Mex. officers criticised, 343; operations of, in E. Fla., 429-30; maintained by foraging, 443.
- Arms: smuggled, 136; ship arrives without, 290; rev'nists need, 423; U. S. issued to E. Fla. rev'nists, 430 n. Arquebuses, 288 n; artillery, 289; fire-arms, 137, 140, 490; pikes, 288 n; sword, 503.
- Arche, Juan: has inn in Mex., 64; Fr. arrested at, 89.
- Arquebuses: sent to Punto Rico, 288 n.
- Arrests: of Folney advised, 83; of Coste, ordered, 85; for seditious practices, 88; of French, 89; of rev'nists in Mex., 91-2, 95-6.
- Artillery: Cortés uses, on Ind., 193; Span. settlements lack, 289.
- Artists: in Aztec Mex., 199, 209.

- Asher, G. M.: reproduces old print, 183.
- Ashley, Lodowick (cattleman on St. Marys): takes part in E. Fla. rev'n., 427; plan for govt. of E. Fla., formed at his home, 429; mil. commander of rev'nary govt., 429, 435; requests surrender of López, 431-2; L. sends com'rs. to, 432; Craig succeeds, 438 n.
- Assemblies: rev'nists plan to form in, 72.
- Astoria, Ore.: Prevost at, 38 n.
- Asturias, Spain: proposed to carry soldiers from, gratis, 18.
- Athan (city on Pánuco River); Span. at, 201. *See also* Laotom.
- Atheism: Volney's book founded on, 62.
- Atkinson, George: Mathews at home of, 424; dissuades M., 424; rept., cited, 429 n, 430 n, 432 n, 434 n, 435 n.
- Attorney: Alaves acts as, 456.
- Auctions: of returned mdse., 24.
- Audiencias: their nature, 149; nuclei of new nationalities, 149; founded in Span. col., 149; quarrels with gov., 26; in Mex., 455, 464; in Peru, 491, 502; in Chile, 492; in Guadalajara, 447, 494, 497.
- Augsburg, Bavaria: declines in importance, 2; bankers in, 181; lib'y. in, 183; early printing in, 184.
- Aulard, F. A.: cited, 70 n.
- Austin, Tex.: research bureau in, 247.
- Austria: ambassador of, supports Vargas, 167; ambassador, attends papal meeting, 169; prince for Mex. sought in, 323.
- Ávarez, (Peruvian leader): invokes *Recopilación*, 148.
- Avendaño, Diego de: his ideals, 146, 147; cited, 146.
- Axe, Mrs. Ruth Frey: makes transl. from Ger., 181.
- Ayarragaray, Lucas: cited, 159 n, 162 n, 166 n, 167 n, 170 n, 171 n, 172 n.
- Ayuntamiento*: defined, 449; convenes at order of corregidor, 461.
- Azero, Fray José de: Croix expels, 498.
- Azo, Portius: said to have compiled *Partidas*, 533; Roman law derived from, 542; cited, 533-4, 534 n.
- B**ABCOCK, Charles E.: member of committee, 255; section ed., 255; rept., 511-20.
- Bacon, Robert: visits S. A., 523.
- Badajoz, Spain: relief of, 297.
- Bahama Channel: Span. trade possibilities thro', 4.
- Bailey, Vernon Howe: book reviewed, 239-40.
- Balize, La.: mil. center, 281.
- Baltimore, Md.: Bland from, 39; Brackenridge from, 39.
- Baluffi, Mons. ———: his mission, 175.
- Bancroft, Hubert H.: cited, 97 n, 322, 322 n, 325 n.
- Banda Oriental del Uruguay: opposes Buenos Aires, 52.
- Bando*: corregidor makes, 454.
- Bankers: Anglo-Amer., in London, 73; early Ger. and Ital., 181.
- Bankruptcies: consulado hears, 5.
- Banquets: graduates give, 110; to honor new viceroy, 491.
- Baptism: removed from church control, in Mex., 321 n.
- Baqueiro, Serapio: cited, 135 n, 136 n, 142 n.
- Baracoa, Cuba: depop., planned, 294.
- Barbachano, Miguel: favors independence of Yucatan, 133; Santa Anna's promise to, 134; driven from Mérida, 136; asks Cuba for aid, 141; gains govt. in Yucatan, 141; offer by, 141 n.
- Barbers: Fr. in Mexico, 88.
- Barcelona, Spain: trading co. considered in, 1 n; Peter Martyr at, 179.
- Barcia Trelles, Camilo: sketch, 384.
- Bardel, Nicholas: associate of Malvert, 90 n.
- Barlow, Joel: attitude toward S. A., 72; in committee, 73; meets with Paine, 73; cited, 80-1.

- Barracks: in Lima, 496, 498.
 Barrett, John: cited, 523.
 Barros Arana, Diego (Chilean historian):
 cited, 51-52, 55 n, 56, 56 n.
 Barros Borgoño, Luis: cited, 161 n.
 Basch, Dr. S.: translator, 353 n-4 n;
 cited, 358 n.
 Basle, Switzerland: book pub. in, 181.
 Bathurst, Lord ———: cited, 484.
 Baton Rouge, La.: Span. capture, 280;
 Anglo-Amer. occupy, 419, 422.
 Battles: with Ind., 194; in E. Fla, 494.
 Bautista Genoves, ———: with Ind.,
 370-1.
 Bayamo, Cuba: depop. proposed, 294.
 Bayard, Thomas Francis (sec'y. of
 state): diplomatic activities, 485-6;
 cited, 485.
 Baylies, Francis (chargé in Buenos
 Aires): instructions, 477-78, 480-1;
 reaches Buenos Aires, 481; diplomatic
 activities, 481-2; his argument not sus-
 tained, 483; receives passports, 487;
 letters to and by, cited, 481, 482, 484.
 Bays. *See* Gulf and Bays.
 Bazaine, Marshal: his program in Mex.,
 323; Maximilian communicates with,
 336.
 Beard v. Poydras: cited, 537 n.
 Beaupoils, ———: in rev'nary com.,
 73; contributes to rev'nary plans, 74.
 Bedclothes: made of feathers, 210.
 Bedford, Dube: in peace council, 306;
 letter to, cited, 309; correspondence,
 cited, 309 n.
 Beggars: Croix assists, 503.
 Belize, Brit. Honduras: Yucatecs get
 arms from, 137; Mayas appeal to, 142.
 Belaunde, Victor A.: article, 144-54;
 notice, 248-9, 252.
 Bells: celebrate victory, 312.
 Bemis, Samuel Flag: checks list,
 246 n; cited, 77 n.
 Benavides, Ambrosio (pres. of Audiencia
 in Chile): chosen intendant in Santi-
 ago, 492.
 Benedicto v. de La Roma: cited, 538 n.
 Benefices: Chilean govt. conceded right
 of presentation to, 163-4.
 Benton, Lt. ———: seizes Span. ves-
 sels, 268-9.
 Benton, Thomas H.: cited, 47 n, 57 n.
 Berlin, Ger.: Amer. agts. sent to, 275 n.
 Bernard, Sir Francis (colonial gov. of
 Mass.): attends celebration, 312; mes-
 sages, cited, 312.
 Bernardo (bp. of Querétaro): signs
 mem'l, 337.
 Bethlehemites: hospital of, 496.
 Beverages: com'rs. take, 44 n; Aztecs
 have, 209; Aguardiente, 27; wine, 21,
 27, 198, 209, 462.
 Bible: cited, 311-12, 312 n.
 Bible Society (Amer.): members, 255.
 Bible Society (Eng.): propagandizes
 Span. col., 167-8.
 Bibliographies: good needed, 389.
 Bibliography: section of this Review,
 116-29, 251-62, 387-413, 529-51; plan
 included in Agenda, 256-7; coöperative
 advance, outlined, 251-3; coöperative
 assured, 388.
 Biddle, Capt. James: commands *Ontario*,
 41.
 Birch, Dr. ———: letter to, cited,
 308 n.
 Birds: in Mex., 196, 197, 198, 207, 208,
 209; feathers used, 198; used for food,
 198, 375; sold in market, 208; arti-
 ficial, 209. Parrots, 198, 363; part-
 ridges, 208; peacocks, 197; pheasants,
 208; pigeons, 196; quails, 196; sea-
 crows, 374, 375; sparrows, 209; turtle-
 doves, 196.
 Biretta: students make gifts of, 110.
 Bishopgate, Eng.: celebrates victory,
 304 n.
 Bishops: encyclical addressed to, 156,
 166; titular, authorized for Amer., 162;
 Colombia presents candidates for, 169-
 70; Pius VIII. plans to consecrate for
 Amer., 171; Gregory XVI. preconizes

- for Amer., 173-4; resign, 345; robbed, 499.
- Blair, Emma Helen; and James A. Robertson: cited, 319 n.
- Blanco Fombona, Rufino: cited, 545.
- Bland, J. O. P.: cited, 526.
- Bland, Theodorick: in S. A. com'n, 38, 43; attitude toward people in Buenos Aires, 47; offers to go to Pacific coast, 48; goes to Chile, 48 n, 50; his relations with Skinner, 48 n; candidate for federal judgeship, 48 n-9n; attitude toward Brackenridge, 49 n; makes separate rept., 50; repts. on Chile, 50 n; rept. analysed, 52-3; rept. impartial, 54; inspires book, 55 n; sketch, 39; letters to and by, cited, 43 n, 44 n, 47-8, 48 n; cited, 49 n.
- Blankets: Ind. use cotton, 198.
- Blockades: by U. S. of Yucatan ports, 135, 136, 137, 140 n.
- Blount, William: conspiracy, 82.
- Boards: war, 271, 271 n, 272.
- Boars: wild, in Mex., 196, 207.
- Bogotá, Colombia: abp. preconized, 174.
- Bolívar, Simón: considers agreement with Rome, 158; sends ecclcs. agt. to Europe, 159; heads govt. of Great Colombia, 167; influence, 158.
- Bolivia: name, 109; gains victory over Span., 156.
- Bologna, Italy: Tejada in, 168.
- Bolton, Herbert Eugene: book, reviewed, 230-1; makes transcripts, 244; promises aid, 255; translator and editor, 258; cited, 87 n, 95 n, 489 n, 490 n.
- Bonds: new corregidor gives, 453; residencia judge gives, 465.
- Bondurant, Mrs. Alexander L.: owns MS., 364.
- Bonet, Francisco Baptista (Span. naval officer): ordered to aid campaign, 274; member of conference, 283 n; differs with Gálvez, 284.
- Bonet, Pedro: associate of Malvert, 90 n; charges against, 91.
- Bonfires: viceroy celebrated by, 304, 304 n, 313.
- Bonham, Milledge L. Jr.: notice, 386.
- Bonilla, ———: cited, 65 n.
- Bonneville, Nicholas: meets with Paine, 72-3.
- Books: debarred by inquisition, 60; on index, 62-3, 499; reviews of, 99-106, 213-40, 377-83, 505-15; notices, 411-12; create international sentiment, 545.
- Boone, Thomas (gov. of S. Ca.): praises capture of Havana, 313-14; letters to and by, cited, 314 n.
- Bordeaux, France: Folney embarks at, 82.
- Boston, Mass.: Miranda at, 69; troops to be sent from, 278; celebrate capture of Havana, 311-12; news of cession of Havanna reach, 311 n; U. S. ship from, 497.
- Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne: activities, 346.
- Botanist: becomes govt. agt., 159.
- Boucher, ———: translates *Consolato* into French, 541.
- Bougainville, Louis Antonie de: occupies Falklands, 481.
- Boundaries: instructions rdg., 275 n; U. S. willing to extend, 415; of Ind. country in E. Fla., 417; corregidor inspects, 457.
- Bourbons: displace Hapsburgs, 6, 19, 87; French attitude toward, 69; in France, destroyed, 92; factor in reforms, 151.
- Bourgoing, Jean François: cited, 63, 63 n.
- Bourne, E. G.: cited, 3 n.
- Bowden, John: testimony, cited, 438 n, 441 n, 444, 444 n.
- Bowker, R. R.: rept. by, 516-20.
- Brabam (Braba): name for Terra Firma, 204.
- Brabant, Netherlands: Span. islands should be open to, 15-16.
- Brackenridge, Henry M.: app. sec'y of S. A. com'n, 38; Rush recommends, 40;

- attitude toward Bland, 48 n; candidate for federal judgeship, 48 n; Bland criticises, 50; attitude toward S. A., 50, 55; keeps journal, 54; makes no official rept., 54; pub. book, 54-5; attack on, 55 n; sketch, 39-40; letters, etc., cited, 39 n, 40 n, 43, 43 n, 46 n, 48 n-49 n.
- Bracton, Henry de: Eng. in time of, 529; draws Roman law from Azo, 542; cited, 533-4.
- Branciforti, Miguel de la Grua Talamanca y (viceroy of Mex.): opposes Fr. ideas, 64; issues circular order, 88-9; discovers rev'nary plans in Mex., 93; receives instructions from Spain, 95; criticised, 96; letters, etc., cited, 60, 62 n, 80 n, 88, 88 n, 89 n, 91 n, 93, 94, 94 n, 95, 95 n, 96 n, 97 n.
- Brazil: U. S. min. to, 44; holds Montevideo, 45 n; ed'l. tendencies in, 112; books on, catalogued, 252; Port. driven from, 286; Argentina at war with, 473; resources, 522.
- Bread: in Mex., 200-1; corregidores must oversee supply, 461.
- Brest, France: Fr. propagandist embark at, 69-70, 83.
- Brevard, Caroline Mays: cited, 438 n, 445 n.
- Bribes: given to invaders, 289; given in residencia, 469.
- Bridges: in Mex. City, 200, 204, 206; Croix constructs, 494.
- Brighton, Eng.: celebrates victory, 304 n.
- Brissaud, Jean Baptiste: cited, 540-1.
- Brisson de Warville, Jacques Pierre: Miranda's relations with, 68, 70; heads Girondists, 68; attitude toward Bourbons, 69; meets with Amer., 73; friend to Clavier, 74 n; guillotined, 79; letters to and by, cited, 68, 70 n, 74 n.
- British: nation, includes N. A. colonies, 314; desire Yucatan, 137-8; encourage Yucatan, 140; have right to navigate Mississippi, 268; invasion by, feared, 272; forts 272; in Georgia, 277; menace south, 278; lose terr. to Spain, 280; map of ports of, lacking, 281. Invaders among, 265; in contraband trade, 269. Seek info. on Mex., 66; Miranda's proposal to, 66; supply Yucatec Ind. with firearms, 137; denounced in sen., 141; attitude toward Span., 270; Span. declare war on, 273; Span. trick, 273; ignorant of outbreak of war, 274 n; plans for hostilities, 278; send reinforcements South, 279; attack Havana, 281; commanders of land and sea forces, 303 n; desire peace, 310. *See also* England; English; *and* Great Britain.
- British and For. State Papers*: cited, 472 n, 473 n, 474 n, 482 n.
- Bronson, Judge ———: cited, 423 n, 442 n.
- Brown, Sen. ———: introduces Michaux, 78 n.
- Brown, Karl: aids com., 517.
- Brussels, Belgium: Vázquez in, 172; early news from printed in Spain, 180.
- Bryan, ———: (Brit. commander): takes possession of Falklands, 471.
- Bryan, William J.: visits S. A., 523.
- Bryce, James: visits S. A., 523.
- Bucareli, y Ursua, Antonio María (Viceroy of Mex.): hires Fr. cook, 87.
- Buccaneers: operate in Hispaniola, 15; status, 287; colonize Lesser Antilles, 287; burn ships, 297; a problem to Spain, 301; Eng. orders to cease depredations, 301; continue under Fr. patents, 301; an international nuisance, 301.
- Buchanan, James (pres. of U. S.): promises recognition of independence of Yucatan, 136; considers Yucatan's request, 140; letters to and by, cited, 136 n, 137, 137 n, 138, 138 n, 139, 141-2, 143; cited, 133 n, 137 n, 140 n, 142 n.
- Budget: Peruvian, 493.

- Buenos Aires (city and prov.): Wast writes of, 120; prov'l govt., 34 n; govt. to be carefully noted, 42; various regions oppose govt. in, 52; decrees by, 473, 478, 479, 482; right of, to make arrests discussed, 481; assumes responsibilities for arrests, 483; Peru furnishes subsidy to, 496-7. Disorder in, 46; conditions in, 51-2; characterized, 53; effect of arrival of com'n on, 55; representations against privateers made in, 56; Falklands south of, 471; exped. sent from, 471; appts. gov. for Falklands, 472; Vernet, a naturalized citizen of, 473; claims Falklands, 473-4; cannot succeed to sovereignty over Falklands, 481, 483; sends force there, 481. Relations, etc., with other countries—U. S. officials at, 35; Poinsett in, 37-8; Rodney in, 39 n; Com'rs. go to, 41, 42, 43, 44, 49 n; U. S. ship sails for, 44; U. S. ships at, 475; com'n. repts. from, 46; com'n. leaves, 49; Bland's attitude toward, 50; Rodney's *id.*, 50-1, 57; com'n. well rec'd in, 56; has no U. S. diplomatic agt., 475; Duncan at, 476; interferes with U. S. trade, 477; Duncan's reason for leaving, 480; Baylies at, 481. Welcomes papal delegate, 163; how Muzi regarded in, 164. How goods shipped to, 4; shipping to, 20; seal-skins shipped to, 473; Peru trades by way of, 493.
- Buenos Aireans: disappointed in actions of U. S., 35.
- Buldel, Antonio: member of junta, 12 n.
- Bullfights: graduates furnish, 110.
- Bulls, Papal: Muzi sells, 163; concede privileges, 318; unsanctioned, returned to Spain, 499.
- Burke, Edmund: his controversy with Paine, 61.
- Burnett, Edmund: cited, 271 n.
- Burriel, Andrés Marcos: cited, 534.
- Burton, Theodore: visits S. A., 523.
- Bute, Earl of: his reaction to capture of Havana, 306-7, 309; determined on peace, 309; letter by, cited, 309 n.
- Butterflies: Aztecs make artificial, 209.
- CAAMAÑO, ———: rept., cited, 64 n, 88 n, 90 n, 91 n.
- Cabildos: their nature, 150; defined, 449 n; work of, done by lt. of police, 495; Croix's opinion rdg., 502.
- Cacata, Mex.: location and pop., 211.
- Caciques (Ind. chiefs): relations with Cortés, 191-91; in Mex., 206; serve Montizuma, 207.
- Cadareyta, Lope Díez Armendáriz, Marquis de: expels Eng. from San Martín, 299.
- Cadets: attend celebration, 312.
- Cadiz, Spain: port of trade for Indies, 4; trading co. needed at, 13-14; casa de contratación transferred to (1717), 19; capture by Fr. planned, 90; Fr. deported to, 96; Cortes held at, 147.
- Calendar of State Papers, Spain*: cited, 288 n.
- Calhoun, John C.: opposes U. S. intervention in Yucatan, 141; compared to Mendez, 143.
- Calicut, India: spice trade in, 212.
- California: Spain founds society in, 149; *Partidas* invoked in, 538.
- Callao, Peru: trading ship allowed at, 493; Croix enlarges wharf at, 494; fortified, 496; Croix gives alms at, 503.
- Calleott, W. H.: translator and editor, 258.
- Calvinists: should not be admitted to Indies, 18.
- Calzo. *See* Chaleco.
- Camargo, Diego de: may command exped., 178.
- Cambrana, Sebastian: member of junta, 12 n.
- Cambridge Modern History*: cited, 310 n.

- Camp New Hope, E. Fla.: rev'nists at, 441-2; Smith leaves, 443.
- Campbell, Sir Arthur: letter by, cited, 66 n.
- Campbell, Commander Hugh: stationed at Charleston, 426; duties, 426 n; refuses fleet, 428; aids rev'nists, 430; his instructions, 430; loses interest in E. Fla. rev'n, 436-7; letters by and to, cited, 432, 432 n, 433 n; orders by, cited, 434 n.
- Campeche (Campeachy, Campecho, Cam-poche), Yucatan: location, 187; shipping to, 20; revolt in, 132 n; Mendez lives in, 133; opposed to Barbachano, 134; opposes reunion with Mex., 134-5; U. S. vessels near, 140; Mendez in, 141; Hernández de Córdoba reaches, 176; Span. in, 187.
- Canada: U. S. tempted by, 75; lib'y exchange with, 517.
- Canals: Panama, important to S. A., 522.
- Cannons: Sto. Domingo stripped of, 290; in Morro castle, 295; of tower, 304; celebrate victory with, 312, 313; South Carolina requests, 313-14; in ship's cargo, 370; in Fernandina, 432; spiked, 476.
- Cano, Juan: cited, 14 n.
- Canonists: theory, held by, 155. *See also* Ultramontanists.
- Cap, George: in service of Gálvez, 87; rept. cited, 87 n; arrested and freed in Mex., 97, 98.
- Cape Horn: Span. society at, 149; Muzi sails round, 164.
- Caps: students give silk as gifts, 110; gifts to Ind., 195.
- Capet, Louis (Louis XVI.); executed, 76.
- Capital: rise of large, 3; invited to participate in trading co., 8, 24; corregidors use royal funds as, 466; U. S. invested in S. A., 523-24.
- Capitulations: articles of, 304 n, 435-36.
- Capons: sold in Mex. market, 208.
- Carabobo, Ven.: victory won at, 156.
- Caracas, Ven.: trading ship proposed for, 24; trading ship sails for, 26; com'l proceedings at, 27; little market in, 27; Span. goods unsold in, 28; foreigners trade in, 28.
- Caracas Company: formed, 1 n, 20 n, 23, 30; succeeds, 29.
- Carbajal, ———: cited, 538 n.
- Cardinals: request of Cienfuegos submitted to, 162.
- Cards, playing: Fr. use, 89.
- Carey, Prof. F. M.: transl. by, 361.
- Cargoes: mdse. in, 27; at Caracas, 28.
- Carleton, ———: cited, 539 n.
- Carmen, Yucatan: petitions U. S. officers, 140 n.
- Carmichael, William: Jefferson writes, 77.
- Carnegie Endowment: aid given by, 516.
- Caribbean Region: trade along coasts of, 4; has econ. opportunities, 286; foreign invasion in, 286-89; Span. reaction rdg., 286-302; Eng. and Dutch in, 287; Span. neglect defense, 287; special status, 291; fortifications, planned and improved, 292, 295; Windward squadron created for, 292; fleet leaves, 293; fleet not retained in, 296; new era opens in, 301. *See also* Ocean and Seas: Caribbean.
- Carondelet, Hector (gov. of La.): counteracts Fr. influence, 79; renders provinces more secure, 80; characterized, 79; rept. cited, 79, 79 n, 81-2; letters by, cited, 79 n, 80 n, 82 n.
- Carpets: Ind. give to Span., 196; Ind. have, 197.
- Carrera Brothers: (pol. outlaws in Chile): Bland's relations with, 49 n.
- Carrillo, Juan (fiscal): statement by, cited, 179.
- Carroll v. Cavall: cited, 538 n.
- Cartagena (Cartagena de Indias), Colombia: Galleons and other ships, at, 4, 290; new fleet for, 293; its fleet

- combines with Windward Squadron, 296; munitions sent to, 288 n; Eng. occupy, 292; Eng. dare not attack, 293; Peru furnishes subsidy to, 496-7.
- Cartier, Jacques: spy mentions, 288 n.
- Carvajal y Lancaster, José de: frames constitution, 149.
- Casa de Contratación: functions, 4-5; objects to Flemish proposal, 18; transferred to Cadiz, 19.
- Casaregis, Giuseppi Lorenzo María: activities, 541.
- Cass, Louis: favors U. S. intervention in Yucatan, 141.
- Castañeda, Carlos E.: book reviewed, 377-8; article, 446-70.
- Castaways: on Serrana Reefs, 368-76.
- Castile (Span. prov.): council, 11, 108-9; represented in junta, 12 n; pres. of council, on com'n, 13; *fueros*, 531 n, 541; early codes in, 533; com'l inquiry, 12.
- Cathilians: in Mex., 212. *See also* Spaniards.
- Castillo de Bovadilla, Jerónimo: cited, 448 n, 449 n, 450 n, 455 n.
- Castlereagh, Robert Stewart London-derry, Marquis of: refuses to meet Span.-Amer. delegates, 159.
- Castles: in Mex., 205; cannons removed from, 290.
- Castro Virreyna, Peru: king apps. corregidores for, 450.
- Catalonia (Span. prov.): com'l inquiry in, 12.
- Cathan. *See* Yucatan.
- Cathedrals: may be constructed only with king's consent, 319. *See also* churches.
- Catholic Kings (Sovereigns): aided by consulado, 6; erect churches, 318; strive for pol. supremacy, 317; corregidores under, 449. *See* Ferdinand; and Isabella.
- Catholicism: state religion of Mex., 320, 341, 347; needs purification, 329; needed, 331.
- Catholics: priests oppress, 84; loyal, in Span.-Amer., 159; papal attitude toward, in S. A., 165 n; alienated by encyclical, 166 n; Mex. are, 320, 340; power of dogma over, 341.
- Cattle: raised along St. Johns, 417-18; rev'nists destroy, 444.
- Caxamarca, Peru: king app. Corregidores for, 450.
- Chacabuco, Chile: battle at, 31.
- Chadwick, F. G.: cited, 420 n.
- Chains: harbor closed by, 289-90.
- Chalco (Calzo): Span. in, 205.
- Channels: importance of Fla., 303.
- Channing, Edward: cited, 418 n.
- Chapman, C. E.: reviews books, 222-4, 224-8, 228-30, 509-10; section editor, 255; translator and editor, 258; cited, 67 n.
- Charcas, Bolivia: Audiencia, 147.
- Charles II. (king of Spain): app. junta, 13.
- Charles III. (king of Spain): creates intendencies, 151; his most important reforms, 151, 448; his policy during Amer. Rev'n, 265-6; attitude toward Eng. colonists, 279 n; Havana, key to his occidental colonial empire, 303; app. Croix viceroy of Peru, 491; sanctions intendencies for Chile, 493.
- Charles V. (emp. of Holy Roman Empire and Charles I. of Spain): brings Flemish to Spain, 60; Lima asks for univ., 107; returns to Spain (1522), 180; rules India, 204; despatches Magellan, 212; gifts sent to, 362; in Valladolid, 362; able, 318; Cortés writes, 179.
- Charleston, S. Ca.: Poinsett from, 37; Genêt finds support in, 78; Span. and Fr. forces to be sent to, 277; Fernant returns to, 279; U. S. naval officer at, 426; supplies brought from, 430.
- Charlestown, Mass.: capture of Havana celebrated in, 312.
- Charlevoix, François Xavier: cited, 294 n.

- Charlotte (empress of Mex.): interested in native peoples of Mex., 354; her missions in Europe fail, 359; becomes insane, 359; letters to Eugénie, cited, 326-7, 329-30, 335-7, 345, 345-6, 346-7, 351-2, 354.
- Charters: given to trading companies, 2, 3.
- Charts: Gutiérrez makes, 373.
- Chaves, Tobias: prepares cataloguing rules, 516.
- Chavez de Rosa, Peru: orphanage founded at, 503.
- Cheney, Edward P.: cited, 2 n.
- Chester, Peter (Brit. gov. of W. Fla.): policies, 265; sends Lloyd to New Orleans, 269 n.
- Chickens: Ind. give to Cortés, 192; Ind. fatten, 197; sold in Mex. market, 208.
- Chihuahua, Mex.: council held at, 489.
- Children: starving in Yucatan, 140; forbidden to marry without consent, 500. *See also* Indians.
- Childs, Dr. James B.: section editor, 255.
- Chile (Chili): long seacoast, 496; a dependency of Peru, 492; Peru furnishes subsidy for, 496-7; Chiloé not subject to, 497. Audiencia, 490, 492; intendancy system considered for, 492; intendants chosen for, 492; system receives royal sanction, 493; board of finance formed for, 492-3. Invaded by San Martín, 31; victory won in, 32, 33; sends Acuirre to U. S., 34; info. desired on, 42; member of U. S. com'n may go to, 43; Bland proposes to go to, 48; B. goes to, 48 n, 49, 50; B. repts. on, 50 n; recognition advised, 54; liberation planned, 71. Temporary *modus vivendi* betw., and papacy, 160-65; episcopacy in, disorganized, 160; patronage asked for, 161; desires auxiliary bps., 161; necessities of church in, described to pope, 161; desires apostolic vicar, 161, 162; too early to send nuncio to, 161-2; desire bps. in partibus, 162; tries to nominate to eccles. positions, 163; attitude toward papacy in, 164; Cienfuegos misleads govt., 164; attitude toward Muzi, 164; independence recognized, 164; its treatment of Muzi disgraceful, 164 n; titular bps. app. for, 174; insubordination in, 501. Youth of, sent to San Marcos, 109; normal school in, 115; adopts U. S. lib'y. system, 387; bibliogr. decree by, 388; North Amer. should visit, 523.
- Chileans: lack confidence in Vatican, 164; eager for bibliogr. coöperation, 387.
- Chiloé. *See* Islands.
- Chinese: compared to Ind., 209.
- Cholula (Churultecal, Cirenstital): Mex., description and pop., 205.
- Chorrera: a tower in Havana, 295.
- Christianity: Ferdinand aids, 203. *See also* the various eccles. captions.
- Church (the): its work democratic, 147; a factor in bringing about independence, 148; govt. of, in Span. Amer., 154-75; character in Span. Amer., 154; patronage of kings over, in Span. Amer., 154; establ. as state church, 155; papacy desires to regain control of, in Span. Amer., 155; Span. Amer. republics desire to retain control of, 155; schism in, feared, 157; Tejada came to describe conditions of, 167; Span. Amer. desires a national, 167; Fr. policy to protect, 169; tendency in Span. Amer., 171; Cath. kings loyal to, 317; struggle betw. church and state in Mex., 317-60; may not exercise patronage, 318; gains supremacy in Mex., 320; declared independent of state in Mex., 321 n; ritual prescribed for Mex., 325; pope points out danger to, 330-2; its needs in Mex., 331-2; proposals rdg., in Mex., 332-3; Maximilian proposes reforms in Mex., 333-4; protests against interference, 338; powers abrogated by letter to Escudero, 341; de-

- prived of rights, 341; how supported, 342-3; will not accept state maintenance, 342; Gallican, 346; use designed for its lands, 349-50; demands restoration of rights, 350; Maximilian observes rules of, 353; its power increases, 540.
- Churches: Boston, 311; Span. crown erects, 318; may be erected only with king's consent, 319; mass sung in Sistine Chapel, 324; in Mex., destroyed, 330; Cubagua, 373.
- Cedulas. *See* Decrees.
- Celebrations: over capture of Havana, 304-16, *passim*.
- Cemeteries: removed from church control, 321 n; cause of disease, 494.
- Cempoalla (Compoal, Samtua), Mex.: location and description, 200; Cortés discovers, 204.
- Ceremonies: for new corregidores, 452-3.
- Cessions: La. to Spain, 87; of Pensacola, proposed, 267; *id.*, of Floridas, 276; *id.* of E. Fla., 279; Eng. attitude toward, of Havana, 309; Mathews accepts, of Amelia Island, 436, 438; of Falklands, by Buenos Aires, 473.
- Cienfuegos, José Ignacio (liberal Creole eccles.): advises O'Higgins, 160; app. head of eccles. delegation, 161; his instructions, 161; his audience with pope, 161, 162; in Rome, 163 n; misleads Chilean govt., 164; Somaglia contradicts, 164; letter, cited, 163-4.
- "Cinco Papeles": cited, 20 n, 21 n, 23 n.
- Cinnamon: in cargo, 21. *See also* Spices.
- Circulars: Jacobins issue, 79-80; Spain issues, 158.
- Cirenstital. *See* Cholula.
- Circumnavigations: first, 212.
- Cisternes, Melcher: member of junta, 12 n.
- Cities: lose powers, 2.
- Citizens: eccles. deprived of many rights of, 321.
- Cuidad de los Reyes, Peru: founded, 107. *See also* Lima.
- Civita Vecchia, Italy: Tejada invited to, 168; Maximilian in, 324, 325.
- Claiborne, J. F. H.: Clayton writes, 364-8.
- Claiborne, W. C. C. (gov. of La.): Madison approves his conduct, 419; com'rs. relinquish office to, 422.
- Clarendon, George William Frederick Villiers, Lord: diplomatic activities, 486; cited, 486.
- Clark, Archibald: organizes rev'n, 427; later becomes U. S. official, 427; testimony cited, 427 n, 430 n, 437 n.
- Clark, Daniel: attitude toward Span. col., 72; dinner in honor of, 79 n.
- Clark, Maj. Gen. David: organizes exped. against Fla., 78.
- Clark, Elijah: needs funds, 80.
- Clark, George Rogers: attitude toward Span. col., 72; favors rev'nists, 75; offers services to Spain, 75 n; willing to lead rev'nary exped., 76; has friends in New Spain, 76; Agt. of Fr. republic, 76; letters by, cited, 75 n, 76, 81.
- Clarke, George, J. F.: surveyor gen'l in E. Fla., 418 n; resident of Span. Fla., 424; Coppinger authorizes, 445; testimony cited, 417 n, 418 n, 424, 430 n, 432 n, 434 n, 435 n, 436 n, 437 n.
- Claustro: defined, 110; new spirit in, 113.
- Clavière, Etienne (Swiss, min. of finance in France): letter to, cited, 74 n; cited, 74 n.
- Clay, Henry: champions S. A. rev'nists, 33-4; attacks neutrality law, 33, 35; Rodney influenced by, 50; political activities, 58; characterized, 58, 522; cited, 47, 522.
- Clayton, Alexander M.: app. consul, 364; his instructions, 365, at Havana, 365, 366; returns to Washington, 365; resigns, 367; spies trail, 368; letter by, 364-8.

- Clergy: injured by book, 62; charges against Mex., 97; exhortation to Amer., 158; support Ferdinand VII., 165; demoralized in Span. Amer., 171; attitude in Mex., 322; attitude toward Maximilian, 327, 353; demand less than papacy, 328; newspapers insult, 330-1; proposed method of support, 332; Maximilian criticises, 343; in politics, 344; corrupt, 345; Croix protects, 499; made to comply with royal decree, 500; lesser, try to gain goodwill of intendants, 501; immunities increase, 540.
- Clerk: carries letter to Cortés, 178.
- Cleveland, ———: letters to, cited, 307 n.
- Cleven, N. Andrew N.: rept. read by, 241-2; section editor, 255; translator and editor, 258; notice, 262; article, 317-60; cited, 317 n, 318 n, 332 n.
- Clothing: in cargo, 21; as gifts, 110, 195, 198, 211; of Ind., 197, 202, 209; materials, 202, 209, 376; caps, 110, 195; doublets, 195; shirts, 195, 197; trousers, 195.
- Cloves: *Victoria* carries, 185; strawberries taste like, 199.
- Clowes, W. L.: cited, 286 n.
- Clymer, George: member of war board, 271 n.
- Coahuila, Mex.: Fr. in, 95.
- Coatzacoalcos, Mex.: Span. in, 199.
- Cochineal: in cargo, 9.
- Cocoa: carried to Vera Cruz, 28; in trade, 28.
- Codes: Span. law, 529-44, *passim*.
- Códigos Españoles*: cited, 530 n, 531 n, 532 n, 533 n, 534 n, 543 n.
- Coffee: Brazilian, 522.
- Coins: copper, in Mex., 200.
- Colbert, Jean Baptiste: (Fr. min.): effect of his work, 16.
- Colby, Eldridge: visits S. A., 523.
- Colección de Doc. Inéd. . . . España*: cited, 466 n.
- Colección de Doc. Inéd. . . . Ultramar*: cited, 288 n, 289 n, 290 n, 464 n.
- Collaguas, Peru: king app. corregidores for, 450.
- Colleges and Universities: books studied in, 63; faculties, 107; oldest in S. A., 107-14; instructors and students, a distinct class, 110; medical, 111; medieval Fr., destroyed, 112; advent of Napoleonic, 112, 114; departments in, 112; glories of Ger., 113; Peruvian, how ruled, 114; mestizos excluded from, 147; all classes taught in, 147-8; new chairs founded in, 152; reforms in, planned, 152; send mem'l to king, 310; mining recommended for Peru, 495; Croix interested in, 500; U. S. study S. A., 522; Hisp. Amer. students in, 550. Named—Alcalá, 109; Ávila, 109; Bologna, 109, 536 n, 539; California (Berkeley), 44, 510; California (Los Angeles), 30, 302, 316, 361; Columbia, 116; Florida State, for Women, 281; George Washington, 487; Goucher, 115, 143; Harvard, 528; Illinois, 253; La Plata, 112; Mexico, 63; Miami (Fla.), 153, 248-9; Michigan, 175; Municipal, of Wichita, 98; North Carolina, 255, 520, 526, 527; Ocopa (Peru), 501; Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical, 59 n; Oklahoma, for Women, 504, 507, 528; Paris, 107, 117; Pittsburgh, 255, 360; Salamanca, 107, 108, 109, 536, 536 n; San Carlos, 500; San Felipe, 496; San Fernando, 111; San Marcos, 107-14; Seville, 152; Smith, 527; South Carolina, 257, 511; Stanford, 527; Texas, 255, 446, 470; Valladolid, 109; Western Reserve, 527-8.
- Colmeiro, M.: cited, 11 n, 14 n.
- Colombia: size, 167; Bolívar considers agreement betw. Rome and, 158; he hopes to secure patronage for, 158; Zea demands papal recognition, 159, 160; min. for app., 160; sends Tejada to Rome, 165; Church desires to app.

- bps. in, 165 n, Tejada describes condition of Church in, 167; petitions papacy, 168; govt. presents candidates for proprietary bps., 169-70; bibliogr. measures in, 388-9.
- Colonial Records of Georgia*: cited, 314 n.
- Colonies: com. fosters, 3; of various European states, 17; formed by buccaneers, 287; Vernet attempts to build, 473. Span.—ill supplied, 5; weak, 281: defense measures in, 286-302; militia formed in, 287; Span. resistance in, slight, 289; little confidence in troops of, 292 n; their status, 287-8; towns in, 289; position of La. among, 265. Reasons for decay, 294; admin. of, declines along borders, 415, 416; power declining, 445, 488, 546. How expenses met, 295; financing, a problem, 296. Govt. described, 53; consolidation epoch, 146; their nature, 149; Span. creations in, 149; new govt. units created in, 151; give precedents for present govts., 153; govt. of provinces and, 446; intendencies planned for, 447; system of admin. in, changed, 448; corregidor in admin. of, 446-70; his importance, 446; *Partidas* extended to, 537, 538, 542. Declare independence, 41; secede, 154; lost to Spain, 156-7, 166. U. S. attitude toward, 36; U. S. agts. in, 41; Bland repts. on, 52; U. S. aid requested, 76. Fr. aid for, sought, 67-70; time to rev'nize, 68; Fr. rev'nary plans for, 70; Fr. exped to, proposed, 70, 73; Fr. desires to aid, 81; Fr. cause trouble in, 83; Fr. employes in, 87. Liberation will profit Eng., 69; negotiations rdg., 270. Dutch agree not to trade with, 300; Europe desires, 425; Apaches harry, 489. Overcome plans to liberate, 73; illicit trade in, 84; attack on, expected, 86; Spain hold to eccles. rights in, 170-71; Span. officials ordered to keep neutral, 266; eccles. matters formulated in, 318; propaganda spread in, 436; Croix's services to, 504. Port.—in Amer., 10; disintegrate, 546. Eng. (including colonies in revolt)—Fr. aids, 67, 81; ask aid of Spain, 266; Willing commissioned to act for, 269 n; Anglo-Amer. Cong. in, 270, 270 n, 271, 271 n, 274, 276, 278 n; Span. aid, 273; erroneous belief rdg., in Spain, 275; Spain has no agreement with, 275; attitude toward Floridas, 276 n; loyal, 311; effect of capture of Havana on, 311-16; in Falklands, 481; character of univ. in, 108. French—U. S. aids, 69. Falklands—Buenos Aires colony at, 485.
- Colonists: Span.-Amer. rebel., 31; do not resist invasion, 289; taken to Montevideo, 476. *See also* Colonies.
- Colonization: Span. factors inadequate for, 3; French attempts about Mississippi, 15; foreign, in Amer., 295; decree rdg., by Maximilian, 355; by Buenos Aires govt., fails, 472.
- Colue (Culua). *See* Mexico.
- Columbus (Coloanus), Christopher (Cristofferus): his discovery, 203; converts Mohammedans, 203; discovers Terra Firma, 204.
- Commerce and Trade: expands in Europe, 1; early lacked organization, 1; old routes dislocated, 2; changes in methods, 2; industrial effects, 3; methods, 4, 7, 176, 177, 189 (*see also below* Trading companies); Casa de Contratación (*q. v.*), 4-5; consulado, 4-5, 16; junta de Comercio, 7, 9; how controlled in Span. Amer., 151; restrictions, 1, 135, 454, 492; Span., forbidden to foreigners, 288; principle of exclusion combatted, 75; privileges, 20, 266; allowed to foreigners, 21; needs, 13; monopolies, 5; illegal, 13, 26, 27, 84, 269, 286, 293, 294, 300, 301, 418, 423, 436 n, 488; regulations proposed for, 25. Span. fleet for, 4 (*see also* Ships); de-

clines in W. Ind., 7; too vast, 7; com'n app. to consider, 11; desired for Spain, 11; free, recommended, 13-14; Amer. discussed, 14 n; Fonseca experienced in, 16; under the Bourbons, 19 n; of Indies, endangered, 20; freer, with Ind. proposed, 20; market for Span. goods destroyed, 27; U. S. com'ners watch in S. A., 42, 46; Rodney repts. on, 51; with Ind., 176-7, 189, 198; early Ger. and Ital. bankers connected with, 181; desired with Ind., 188; relation of corregidor to, 461, 466, 468; free, profitable in Peru, 493; intendants engage in, 497; they fail to encourage, 502; reforms in, in Peru, 493; value of S. A., 523; develops inter-Amer. relations, 550. Trading companies—Antecedents of Span., 1-30; various named, 1 n, 17, 29, 493-4; chartered, 2-3; chartered, foreign to Span. genius, 3; not all successful, 3; none in Spain, 6; proposed for Spain, 7, 11, 23; advantages, 8; not advisable to create, 9; proposed for Port., 10-11; English and Dutch, 16; objections to, 18, 29; created in Spain, 20, 23-9; membership, 20; shares in, 21; Fr. do not prosper, 22; flourish in Eng. and Holland, 22; not needed, 22; joint-stock proposed, 24; debts, 28; status of those proposed, 30; ship of, allowed to go to Callao, 493. Traders—change in status of, 2; Fr. serve as, 88; disregard Span. legislation, 265; status of Eng., 286-7; buccaneers have states of, 287; *see also* Merchants. Miscellaneous—Port.-E. Ind., 10; direct betw. India and Flanders requested 12-13; Fr. in Peru, 27; Fr. desire, in Span. Amer., 68; Fr. aims, 81; Fr. engage in illicit, 84, 286; Fr. among Ind., 87 n; foreign, in Caracas, 28; Eng. designs in Mex., 66; influence of Eng. in Span. Amer., 169; Eng. col. desire with Span., 266; contraband by Brit., 269; Span. crippled

by Brit. victory, 305. Yucatan forms relations with Texas, 133; terms of, with Yucatan, violated, 134; Yucatec-Mex. prohibited by U. S., 135. In Mex. City, 199; betw. Seville and Indies, 202; spice trade, 212; used as bribe, 289; Span. unable to stop illicit, 294; Dutch agree not to trade with Span. domains, 300; Dutch offer in, 301; buccaneers attack, 301; Spain injures U. S., 425; lumber, on St. Johns, 426; flourishing in E. Fla., 444; U. S. interfered with, 477; betw. Span. and northern Ind., 490.

Commerce Clearing House: thanked, 529.

Commissioners: instructions to, 34; duties, 41-2, 55-6; Halsey gives up house to, 44; send views to newspapers, 47; make four repts., 49-50; Yucatec, sent to U. S., 135; sec'y of state authorizes, 421; Span. sent to Point Peter, 428; López app., 432, 433; corregidores are, 449; of war, at Callao, 496.

Commissions: Monroe determines to send to S. A., 31; reasons therefor, 33-7, 50 n; provides own supplies, 43-44; disappointed, 49 n; repts. presented by, 50-5; well rec'd. in Buenos Aires, 56; effect of, on S. A., 58-9; bibliogr., ordered, 251; will confer with Washington, 277; cong. app., 277, 277 n; Maximilian suspicious of, 356.

Commissions (as officers): Fr. given to Clark, 76; *id.* to Folney, 82-3.

Committees: Span., to consider econ. reforms, 11; rev'nary, planned for Amer., 73; on expulsion of Jesuits, 151-2; bibliogr., 255; congressional, 277; examine books in public libraries, 499-500; on lib'y coöperation with Hispanic peoples (its rept.), 516-20.

Communications: betw. U. S. and Span. Amer., slow, 34; Bland repts. on, 52; poor betw. Chile and Peru, 492; without, country is backward, 494.

- Communities: may not exercise eccles. patronage, 318; proposals rdg. religious, 333.
- Companies, Trading. *See* Commerce and Trade.
- Compoal. *See* Cempoalla.
- Concepción, Chile: intendancy for, considered, 492; bps. of, robbed, 499; road to Valdivia, quiet, 499.
- Concessions: Murga gains at a price, 25; granted by Julius II., 155; Alexander VI. grants to Spain, 155; papal, probable, 158; papal, to Chile, 163-4.
- Concha, Carlos: article, 107-14.
- Concordats: delegates commissioned to propose, 159; desired by Venezuela, 159 n; projected, in Mex., 329, 332, 335; Mex. does not desire, 337; Mex. needs, 343; mission entrusted with, 344; result if not negotiated, 351.
- Condiciones y Privilegios*: cited, 17 n.
- Condillac, Étienne Bónnot de: read in Spain, 61.
- Condorcet, Marie Jean Antoine Nicholas Caritat: on index, 63.
- Conferences: with Rovira, in Washington, 135-6; papal, at Paris, 169; planned with Washington, 277; Span. members of, 283 n; at Havana, 387-8; Maximilian calls, 336; betw. Mathews and Crawford, 439.
- Confiscation: threatened in E. Fla., 429; of smuggled mdse., 488.
- Conflagrations: caused by fireworks, 494.
- Congar, Capt. ———: men of, enlist with Vernet, 480.
- Congresses: Angustura (1819), 158-9; Cúcuta, 160; Virginia gen'l, 266; Continental, 270-1; of Pan Amer. journalists, 523.
- Connecticut: sends troops to Havana, 311 n; celebrates capture of Havana, 312-13.
- Conquests: ethics rule Span., 146; not for extension of Span. terr., 149; Anglo-Amer. propose, of Floridas, 275 n; Anglo-Amer. refuses to make, 279; effect of that of Havana, 303-16.
- Consalvé, Cardinal Ercole: cited, 157; advises Leo XII., 165 n; letter, cited, 161.
- Consistory: papal, planned, 171; bps. preconized at, 173-4.
- Constance, Switzerland: declines in importance, 2.
- Constantine, Emperor: officials in time of, 448.
- Constitutio Tanta*: cited, 543 n.
- Constitutions: Argentine, 34 n; United Provinces, 52; framed by Span. statesmen, 149; Span., 157; Mex., deprives eccles. of rights, 321; amendments to Mex., 321 n-22 n; of religious orders, 499; U. S., 543.
- Consulado* (a trade tribunal): its opinion relative to Flemish petition, 16; complaint by, 24; aids Croix, 494; imprisons officer, 498.
- Consulat (Consulado) de la Mer*: cited, 541.
- Contracts: com'l, 24; not agreed to, 27; not violated, 27; unsettled, 29; awarded, 467; signed with Vernet, 480; family law in, 540. *See also* Treaties.
- Conventions: U. S.-Gt. Brit. 483, 484. *See also* Treaties.
- Convents: may not exercise eccles. patronage, 318-19; in Mex., destroyed, 330; small, suppressed, 499.
- Conversion: Cortés plans, 189.
- Converts: made in reign of Ferdinand, 203.
- Convoys: in Indies trade, 4; for troops, 283; Span., for fleets, 288. *See also* Ships.
- Conway, G. R. G.: book reviewed, 237-9.
- Conway, Moncure D.: cited, 73 n, 75 n.
- Cooks: Fr. in Mex., 87, 88.
- Coolidge, Pres. Calvin: cited, 523-4.
- Cooper, James: cited, 423 n-24 n.
- Coopers: in ship's crew, 291 n.

- Copper: Mex. have coins of, 200.
- Coppinger, José (Span. gov. of E. Fla.): authorizes Clarke, 445.
- Cordeo, Josefa: permit granted to, 503.
- Córdoba, (Córdova), Argentina: opposes Buenos Aires, 52; in Wast's novels, 120.
- Córdoba, Mex.: decree. *re* rural estates in, 352 n.
- Córdoba, Spain: *fueros* of, 541.
- Córdova, Capt. Francisco: commands ship, 186; date of sailing, 186 n; at Campeche, 187 n.
- Corneille, Pierre: on index, 63.
- Corporations: consulado, a closed, 5; eccles. restriction on, in property holding, 321 n.
- Corps diplomatique*: cited, 293 n.
- Corpus Juris Canonici Decr.*: cited, 540, 540 n.
- Corpus Juris Civilis*: source for *Partidas*, 539.
- Corregidores: in Span. col. admin., 446-70; qualifications, 450, 453-4; functions, 447, 450, 453, 455, 456-63; importance in col., 446; misgovern, 447; titular protector of Ind., 447; called *corrector*, 448; origin, 448; status changes, 449; term of office, 450, 451; a judicial officer in name, 450; office declines, 450; abuses Ind., 450-51; king app., 450, 451; can not be removed without just cause, 451-2; successor, in case of death, 451, 452, 465; installation minutely provided for, 452; their tenientes, 452; restrictions on, 454, 464; wife holds important position, 454; liable to penalty, 457; highest judge in his jurisdiction, 458; *pesquisidor* may not be app., 458; has friction with *pesquisidor*, 458-9; *regimiento* subservient to, 459; may initiate legislation, 460; has opportunities for abuses, 462, 465-6; his salary, 462-4; leave allowed to, 463; chooses seat of his govt., 464; his residencia, 464-5; requires services of Ind., 466; office abolished, 470.
- Corsairs: infest Amer. waters, 286. *See also* Buccaneers; and Pirates.
- Corta, M. ———: mentioned by Charlotte, 334.
- Cortés, Ferdinand (Fernando; Herán): an unknown adventurer, 180; his exped. confused with that of Garay, 201 n; sails from Santiago de Cuba, 204 n; Velásques chooses as leader of exped., 177, 204; his companions, 185; his route, 177; requests govt. of discoveries, 177; discovers Cempoalla, 204; Mex. resist, 74; sends treasure to Spain, 177, 179, 180; Garay asks, to agree to boundary line, 178; asks command of his ships, 178; captures his men, 179; in Tepeyaca, 179, 184; charges against, 180; app. capt. gen. of New Spain, 180-81; his relations with Ind., 189-91, 192-3; uses interpreter, 192, 194; gifts to, 193, 196 n, 200; attitude of Ind. toward, 193, 194; letters, etc., cited, 180, 182, 183-4, 185, 204 n, 205 n, 207 n; letters pub., 181; MS. letters in Vienna, 182; tracts *re*, described, 182-86.
- Cortés Esparza, M.: signs mem'l, 330.
- Corti, Egan Caesar, Conte: cited, 325 n, 327 n, 328 n, 330 n, 335 n, 337 n, 343 n, 344, 345 n, 346 n, 347 n, 351 n, 352 n, 354 n.
- Corwin, Edward Samuel: cited, 267 n.
- Cosenza, Abp. ———: letter, cited, 182, 361-3.
- Cosmography: casa de contratación regulates, 5.
- Coste, Mateo (surgeon): contraband trader, 84; leaves Mex., 85; not in Acayucan, 86; expected to return, 86; transl. Locke, 63.
- Cotton: Ind. weave, 198; much in Mex., 200; Ind. wear, 202; in illicit trade, 418; rept. repaired with, 432; trade in E. Fla. flourishing, 444.

- Couch, W. T.: activities, 260.
- Councils: rept. sent to, 23; complain to king, 24; does not pass on official powers, 26; decision of fiscal, 27; rejects com'l plan, 29; supreme, in Castile, 108; intervene in removals, 455; corregidor consults only when necessary, 456; corregidor must keep it informed, 458; corregidor complains to, 459; approves ordinances, 460; stands expenses of residencia, 465. Name and object—Indies, 4, 16, 18-19, 23, 24, 24 n, 26, 27, 29, 149, 154, 180, 181, 296, 451, 499; Castile, 11, 108; Span., 22; state (Span.), 297, 298-9; common, of London, 307; county, 310; Brit. Borough, 310; governor's in N. Y., 313; state (Mex.), 330, 347, 348; City, 449 n, 459; royal, 460; war, 489, 496.
- Courbiene, Andres: accompanies Mézières, 87.
- Courts: tribunals created in col., 149; Corregidor holds, 456, 458; mining establ. in Peru, 495; *consulado* (q. v.), 498.
- Cox, Isaac Joslin: book reviewed, 99-103; presides at luncheon, 241; section editor, 255; translator and editor, 258; cited, 73 n, 421 n, 422 n.
- Coximar: tower in Havana, 295.
- Crabs: gold, given to Cortés, 200; attack castaways, 374-5.
- Craig, William: succeeds Ashley, 438 n.
- Crawford, Sen. William H.: Mathews repts. through, 426; confers with M., 439.
- Credentials: Mathews shows, 427.
- Credit: sales on, in Caracas, 28.
- Creoles: arrested in Mex., 92; position in Span. Amer., 148; right to hold office, evaded, 152-3; eccles. among, 160; B. de Gálvez marries, 268 n.
- Crimes: poisoning, 87; bribery, 455; robbery, 476, 499; forged papers, 498. *See also* Penalties.
- Crittenden, ———: fate deters filibusters, 365.
- Croix, Charles François: cited, 488 n, 493 n, 504 n.
- Croix, Marquis de (viceroys of Mex.): has Fr. employes, 87; approves reforms, 447; T. de Croix serves under, 488; expels Jesuits from Mex., 488.
- Croix, Teodoro (viceroys of Peru): called El Cavallero de Croix, 488; of Flemish descent, 488; his offices, 488; aids in expelling Jesuits from Mex., 488; requests reinforcements, 489; fights Indians, 489; Gálvez not allowed to aid, 490; his work in northern prov., 490-1; returns to Spain, 491; app. viceroy, 491; plans to remove obstacles to admin. in Chile, 492; makes new settlement, 493; recommends com'l changes, 493-4; champions free trade, 493; promotes good roads, 494; interested in mining, 495-6; issues defense instructions, 496; furnishes subsidies, 496-7; punishes impostor, 498; his eccles. activities, 498-500; expels eccles. 498-9; declares eccles. docs. void, 499; suspends royal order, 500; intendant system decreases his power, 500; denounces intendant system, 500-1; criticises intendants, 502-3; founds orphanage, 503; death, 503-4; characterized, 488, 491, 503-4; cited, 489 n, 490 n, 491, 503 n; article on, 488-504.
- Cuba: Span. discovers, 203; location, 203-4; distance of Campeche from, 187 n; weak, 280; depop. of towns in, proposed, 294; divided into two jurisdictions, 294; Havana chief fortress in, 303; Havana's position in, 310; Span. treatment of natives in, 176; slaves to be liberated, 365; U. S. attitude toward Africanizing of, 365. Aid asked through, 139; Spain sends arms to, 140; Fernández de Córdova returns to, 176; Grijalva sends ship to, 176; he

- returns to, 177; Alvarado in, 177; fleet prepared in, 177; Cortés's ship stops at, 178; other ships at, 184, 292, 294; Span. exped. in, 198. Brit. partially reduce, 308; gov. of, admonishes Gálvez, 268; instructions to gov., 273-4; Navarro, capt. gen. of, 275 n; Miró sent to, 284; Span. galleys assigned to, 292; gov. forms fleet, 299; U. S. desires to annex, 364-5, 366; Clayton writes rdg., 364-8; Amer. imprisoned in, 366; rumor treaty rdg. false, 367; liberation desired, 367; "patriots" will await U. S. aid, 367; Folch awaits aid from, 419; gov. informed of rev'nary plot, 83-4; Barbachano appeals for aid to, 141; appt. nat'l bibliogr. com., 519; archives in, 245 n.
- Cubans: fail to support López, 367.
- Cúcuta, Peru: cong., 160.
- Cuenca, Spain: *fueros*, 541.
- Cumaná, Mex.: gov., 294; suggestion to poison salt pans in, 294.
- Cumberland, Duke ———: exults over Brit. victory, 307-8; letter by, cited, 304 n.
- Cumberland Region: landowners in, 267 n.
- Cumberland Sound: Fernandina near, 418.
- Cunningham, Charles H.: transcripts by, in Lib'y of Cong., 244.
- Customs Duties: Span. reformed, 19; amt. of export and import, 25.
- Cuxuaca, Mex.: size and conjectural identification, 205 n.
- Cuzco, Peru: capital of Inca empire, 493; king app. corregidores for, 450; salary of corregidores, 463; reforms at, 493; powder magazine in, moved, 494; nuns in, quarrel with intendant, 501.
- D**ABAN, Juan (Span. mil. officer): member of conference, 283 n.
- Damás, ———: presides at meeting, 169.
- Danero, E. M. S.: reviews Wast's novels, 116.
- Daniels, E. W.: cited, 418 n.
- Dastalchecka. *See* Tlaxcala.
- Daubenton, Ambrosio: replies to García de Bustamante, 21-2.
- Davenport, Miss Francis G.: cited, 291 n, 293 n, 300 n.
- Davies [*i.e.*, Davis], Capt. John: discovers Falklands, 471.
- Dávila, Carlos (ambassador for Chile): offices held by, 387; bibl. article by, 387-9.
- Davis, Jefferson: favors U. S. intervention in Yucatan, 141; Mendez compared to, 143.
- Davison, ——— (U. S. ship capt.): arrested, 474; repts. to Consul Slacum, 475, 476.
- Debts: consulado hears cases involving, 5; interest on Mex. national, suspended, 322; U. S. willing to assume in W. Fla., 421; Anglo-Amer. will pay, 425; corregidor not responsible for those of family, 454; imprisonment for, 498.
- Deckloes. *See* Caciques.
- "Defensa de jurisdicción": cited, 456 n.
- Decrees and Edicts: by inquisition, 62; pub. in *Gazeta*, 62; by univ., 110; executive of Peru, 114; Yucatec, 134; Span. neutrality, 266; Span. rdg. Brit. vessels, 269 n; Mex., 322; reform laws confirmed by, 323-4; establ. council of state, 330; reform protested, 338, 350; by Maximilian, 344, 347-9, 355; Chilean, 388; Guatemalan, 388; Venezuelan, 388; by corregidor (*bandos*), 454; of Buenos Aires, 473, 478, 482; by gov. of Falklands, 486; Croix suspends, 500. *See also* Proclamations.
- Defoe, Daniel: cited, 369.
- Deforgue, ———: letter, cited, 79 n.

- Degollado, Joaquín: member of com'n, 344.
- De Grasse, François Joseph Paul, Comte de Grasse-Tilly: instructions for, determined, 277.
- Degrees: univ. issues, 109.
- Delaware: Rodney from, 38.
- Delegates: papal in Buenos Aires, 163. *See also* Agents.
- Demischican. *See* Mexico.
- Democracy: Maximilian advances toward, 351.
- Denmark: colonies, 17; Fr. alliance with sought, 69; island near, 361.
- Dennis, Alfred L. P.: book reviewed, 215-17.
- De Pauw, ———: in New Orleans, 72 n; cited, 79 n.
- Deportation: of French, from Mex., 96.
- Descartes, René: philosophy of, taught, 152.
- Desdevizes du Dezert, G.: cited, 20, 61 n.
- Deserters: pilot, 371.
- De Soto, ———: recent studies on, 145; his ideas not lost, 146.
- Devereaux, Col. Joseph: acts as com'l agt., 35; not authorized to make treaty, 35; letter to, cited, 35 n.
- Dexinco: identified, 211, 211 n; location and pop., 211.
- Dexter, Franklin B.: cited, 60 n.
- Diaz, Diego: agt. for Haro, 185.
- Díaz Pimienta, Francisco: ejects Eng. from Santa Catalina, 299.
- Díaz Mercado, Joaquín: prepares catalogue rules, 516.
- Dickens, Paul D.: articles by, 471-87.
- Dictamen de Manuel García de Bustamante*: cited, 20 n.
- Dieppe, France: Echeverría dies in, 160.
- Dip. Corres. of U. S.*: cited, 324 n, 332 n, 334 n, 343 n, 347 n, 349 n, 352 n, 355 n, 356 n, 357 n.
- Discurso . . . por Boissi d'Anglois*: found in Mex., 89.
- Diseases: cemeteries cause, 494; among soldiers, 496. *See also* Epidemics.
- Dispatches: Willing sends, 269 n.
- Dixon, Franklin Bowditch (ed): cited, 63 n.
- Dobbs, Arthur, (gov. of N. Ca.): address, cited, 314.
- Dobles Segreda, Luis: book reviewed, 511-12.
- Documentos Históricos Cubanos*: cited, 294 n.
- Documents: on Cortés, 176-212; other doc. contributed, 361-63, 364-67, 368-76.
- Dodge, Carroll W.: gains exchange fellowship, 528.
- Dominican Republic: negotiates treaty, 385; appts. nat'l bibliogr. com., 519.
- Dominicians: request univ. for Peru, 107.
- Drake, Sir Francis: hostile to Span., 291; raids Span. col., 292; Span. defeat, 293; cited, 39 n.
- Drouyn de Lhuys, Édouard (Fr. Min. of For. Aff.): Estrada appeals to, 350.
- Dublin, Ire.: reaction of capture of Havana in, 311.
- Dues, William: member of war board, 271 n.
- Dumouriez, Gen. Charles François: desires to fill liberator rôle, 68; Miranda meets, 68; serves under, 68 n; attitude toward Bourbons, 69; his policy, 69; Lebrum's suggestions to, 71; his plan changed, 74.
- Duncan, ——— (Capt. in U. S. Navy): assaults Falklands, 473, 476; commands *Lexington*, 476; returns to Montevideo, 479; his conduct approved, 480; his measures severe, 483; his action protested, 484; reparations by, requested, 485.
- Dunn, E. R.: gains exchange fellowship, 527.
- Dunn, William Edward: makes transcripts, 243, 244.

- Durrey, ——— (surgeon): associate of Malvert, 90 n; charges against, 91, 92; not liberated, 97-8; correspondence on, cited, 98 n.
- Durrúa, Juan: associate of Malvert, 90 n.
- Dutch: have organized trading companies, 8, 20; should not be admitted to, 11; advice to open Span. trade to, 13; trade in India, 10; have trade designs, 16. Rebellions, 10; Fonseca understands, 16; many in Amer., 167; make *leinhét*, 209; infest Caribbean, 287. Hostile to Spain, 7; France hopes to dominate, 69; Span. truce with, 295; attacks Porto Rico, 298; expelled from, San Martín and Trinidad, 299; buccaneers attack, 301; their early name for Falklands, 471.
- Duties: U. S. abolished in Yucatan, 137; import and tonnage, 435.
- E**AST Florida. *See* Florida, East.
- East India Co.: Span., proposed, 7.
- East Indies. *See* Islands: East Indies
- East, near: communities in, 1.
- Ecclesiastical Affairs: Univ. of San Marcos under control of, 107; Span. king controls in Indies, 154-5, 319 (*see also* Royal Patronage); decrees rdg., 318-19 (*see also* Decrees); Mex., shorn of rights, 321; reason for failure in Mex., 321-22; terms of concordat proposed for Mex., 332. Ecclesiastics—in Mex. condemned, 322; Croix expels, 498; involved in case of impostor, 498; object to intendants, 501. *See also* all Ecclesiastical captions.
- Echeverría, José: app. min. to Rome, 160; death, 160; his successor, 160.
- Edicts. *See* Decrees and Edicts.
- Education: Buenos Aires interested in, 51; earliest univ. in S. A., 107-14; methods in S. A., 111; tendencies in Span. Amer., 113; higher, not allowed mestigos, 147; reforms inaugurated by Charles III., 151-2; attitude of Mex. clergy toward, 322; church should control, 331-2; Maximilian's instructions rdg., 353.
- Egaña, José María: first lt. of police in Lima, 495.
- Egaña, Mariano (Cuban min. to Eng.): cited, 164 n.
- Egham, Eng.: celebrates victory, 304 n.
- Egerton, John: cited, 292 n.
- Egerton, Thomas: cited, 292 n.
- Egremont, Sir Charles Wyndham, Earl of: reaction to capture of Havana, 309.
- Egypt: early trade in, 1.
- Elections: in consulado, 5; in Peruvian univ., 114; in Yucatan, 136; to Mex. crown, 324; in Span. govt. units, 449; in regimiento, 461; Croix intervenes in, 498; of abbess, 499; quarrels over, 501.
- El Guarico, St. Domingo: rev'nary plot in, 83-4; Coste in, 84; Fr. fleet at, 86; rev'nary center, 86.
- Elizabeth, Queen: islands named for, 471; her subjects, 292 n.
- Embargo: act of U. S. evaded, 417.
- Embassy: Span. in Rome, 165. *See also* Envoys.
- Emigrants: casa de contratación regulates, 5.
- Emoluments: proposal rdg., 332. *See also* Rewards; and Salaries and Wages.
- Empire: in new world, 179.
- Encyclicals: popes issue, 155, 158; pope requested to issue, 165-6; called spurious, 166 n; alienates Cath., 166 n.
- Encyclopaedia, French: prohibited, 499.
- Endrina, Manuel: associate of Malvert, 90 n.
- Engineers: Fr. rev'n. plans to send, 84.
- England: practically a republic, 22; parliament binds king, 22; lethargic, 69; neutrality of, desired, 69; should gain by elimination of Span. col., 69; establ. on Gulf, 265; its colonies, 17; they revolt, 265; independence recognized, 300-1; reaction on, of capture of

- Havana, 303-16; refuses to adopt Monroe Doctrine, 535. Trading co. in, 11, 22; trades with Span. col., 21; desires trade in Mex., 66. Relations with other people and countries—Span. agreement with, 11, 67; hostile to Spain, 15, 66, 67, 98, 274 n, 297, 303; Fonseca in, 16; attitude toward Spain, 66; Span. spies in, 288; end of war with Spain, 293; peace with Spain, 298; treaty with Spain, 300-1, 365. Trades with Span. col., 21; desires trade in Mex., 66; considers making Mex. independent, 66; attitude toward rev'ns in Span. Amer., 68; will gain by independence, 69; Yucatan may ask aid of, 139; interested in Y., 140; its econ. influence in Hisp. Amer., 145, 169; political miss'n. sent to, 158-9; Vázquez in, 168; Gálvez's attitude toward, 268. France at peace with, 15; Dumouriez favors alliance with, 68, 69; war with Fr. imminent, 70; war with, 74, 76; secret treaty with, 365. U. S. makes treaty with, 82; U. S. fears in Fla., 419-20; J. Q. Adams, ambassador to, 484. Portuguese in, 288 n. Relations with buccancers, 287, 301. *See also* British, English; and Great Britain.
- English: trading companies, 20; status of traders, 286-7; forts and men captured, 280; seamen dreaded, 287; ousted from various islands, 299; buccaneers attack, 301; their name for Falklands, 471. Advised that Span. com. be opened to, 13-14; Fonseca knows conditions of, 16; menace Span. col. 82, 290; many in Amer., 167; Span. attitude toward, 268, 274, 298, 490; Miralles's attitude toward, 276; Gálvez hopes to capture forts 280; hostile to Span., 291, 496; in ship's crew, 29 n; attack Span. islands, 295; settle Bermudas, 298.
- Entertainments: celebrate victory, 313.
- Entre Rivs.: opposes govt. of Buenos Aires, 52.
- Envoys: Muzi accused of being, of holy alliance, 163; advice to pope rdg., 169; Jay sent to Spain as, 275.
- Epidemics: Yellow fever, 365, 367. *See also* Diseases.
- Escobar, Pedro (eccles.): removed, 498.
- Ecudero y Echanove, Pedro (Mex. min. of justice): Meglia writes, 333; Maximilian instructs, 333-4; effect of letter to, 337, 340; decrees announced in letter to, 347; countersigns decree, 347 n; letter to, cited, 342.
- Espinosa, ———: Volney worse than, 62.
- Estates: Fr. in Mex., 94; expropriated in Mex., 352 n; Peruvians are slaves on, 494. *See also* Lands; and Property.
- Estatuto* (1813): cited, 156 n.
- Estrada. *See* Gutiérrez de Estrada.
- Estrada, Juan José de (gov. of E. Fla.): attacks Fort Moosa, 438; negotiates with Mitchell, 440; letters to, cited, 435 n, 437 n.
- Eugénie (wife of Napoleon III.): Charlotte writes, 326-7, 329-30, 335-7, 344-5, 345-6, 346-7, 347, 351-2, 354.
- Europe: expansion movement, 1; wealth increases, 2; interior cities decline in importance, 2; Spain's place in, 3, 287; Spain's trade with, 10; crisis approaching, 76; Span. circulars issued in, 158; wars constant in, 286; passage for fleets to, 303; kept from schisms, 346; Justinian law in, 539; derives legal inspiration from Italy, 541-2; place of *Partidas* in, 543. Attitude toward insurgents in S. A., 36; effect of rivalries of, on Mex., 65; influences Hisp. Amer., 145; desires Span.-Amer. possessions, 425; Muzi leaves for, 164; bps. desire to live in, 345-6; U. S. fears to offend, 36; hostile to U. S., 36;

- Poinsett travels in, 37; attitude of Brackenridge toward, 50. Opposed to France, 76.
- Europeans: arrested in Mex., 92.
- Evolution: Span., result of, 152.
- Examinations: severe in San Marcos, 109; pilots take, 497.
- Excesses: in Mex., 334; remedy for, 348. *See also* Abuses; *and* Crimes.
- Excommunication: threatened, 61.
- Executions: of Maximilian. *See also* Penalties.
- Exemptions: from taxes, 138, 473, 502.
- Exile: for violation of royal patronage, 319; G. de Estrado sent into, 350-1. *See also* Penalties.
- Expeditions: Fr. to Span. col. proposed, 70, 73, 74, 76; Clark willing to lead rev'nary, 75; Jefferson plans scientific, 76; despatched under Grijalva, 176, 183; Span. slave-hunting, 176; by Cortés, 177, 201 n; Garay organizes, 178, 186-9; news of, sent to Spain, 179; financing of Magellan's, 185; Anglo-Amer. favored and planned, 266-7, 268 n, 270; Unzaga favors Anglo-Amer., 267; Laurens criticised, 271; Morgan plans detail of, 271; Gálvez suggests, 272-3; rumor of, spread, 273; Gálvez heads, 274; to Fla., favored, 276-7; Gutiérrez-Magee, 415; filibustering, equipped in U. S., 415, 445; Mathews plans, 427 n.
- Explosives: mfre. prohibited, 494.
- Expositions: Ibero-Amer., in Seville, 517.
- Extremadura, Spain: regiment from, in Peru, 500.
- FABRICS:** foreign, sold in Caracas, 28. *See also* Textiles.
- Fadrique de Toledo, Gen. ———: expels foreigners from islands, 299.
- Fairbanks, George Rainsford: cited, 418 n, 426 n, 435 n, 436 n, 438 n, 442 n.
- Fairs (*ferias*): of short duration, 8 n.
- Family Compact: Floridablanca invokes, 65-6; useless to Spain, 67; Fr. attitude toward, 67.
- Famines: in Yucatan, 139-40; Span. suffer, 193; corregidor can take action during, 461.
- Farmers: Fr., in Mex., 88; in Truxillo, need slaves, 494.
- Fauchet, ———: replaces Genêt, 80; issues proclamation, 81.
- Feathers: ornaments, 179, 198, 208, 209-10, 211; clothing made from, 209; headdress, 210, 211.
- Fees: proposals rdg., 332; covered into treasury, 457; excessive, 468.
- Felipe II. *See* Philip II.
- Ferdinand (Cath. king): exterminates Mohammedan heresy in Spain, 203; successors able, 318; corregidor under, 449.
- Ferdinand (Fernando) III.: Seville surrenders to (1248), 531; his objects in legal compilation, 531 n.
- Ferdinand VII. (king of Spain): French attitude toward, 31; restored as absolute monarch, 165; revolt against, 165 n; Leo XII. supports, 166; encyclical praises, 166 n; opposes Leo XII., 169; refuses advice of holy allies, 169; his attitude toward Span.-Amer., 170; Leo XII. seeks understanding with, 170; stops nuncio at Irun, 170; sends ambassador to Rome, 170; death (1833), 174; Leo XII. writes, 170; he writes Leo XII., 170.
- Fernández Duro, Cesáreo: cited, 286 n, 288 n, 289 n.
- Fernández Puerto Carrero, Alonso: agt. for Cortés, 177.
- Fernandina, Fla.: location and pop., 418, 430, 435; neutral port, 423; industries at, 418; trade at, 423; trade center for E. Fla., 424; illicit trade in, 436 n; rev'n breaks out in or near, 418; López in command at, 428, 430-1; he fortifies

- it, 432; U. S. advance on 434; surrender demanded, 431-2; rev'nists land at and occupy, 435; surrendered, 435-6; "patriot" army leaves, 437; McIntosh at, 442; Kindelan at, 443.
- Fernant, Lt. Col. ——— (U. S. mil. officer): his mission in Havana, 278-9; instructions to, 279 n; returns to Charleston, 279.
- Ferris, Gordon F.: awarded exchange fellowship, 527.
- Figueroa, Manuel Antonio (importer): Croix furnishes, 498; has many aliases, 498.
- Filibusters: will not interfere in Cuba, 367; in E. Fla., 436.
- Finance: intendants do not improve, 502.
- Fines: covered into treasury, 457. *See also* Penalties.
- Firearms: Yucatan imports, 137; Brit. supply, 137; Span. sent to Cuba, 140. *See also* Weapons.
- Fireworks: celebrate victory, 312; cause conflagrations, 494.
- Firth, Charles Harding: cited, 298 n.
- Fischer, Rev. ——— S. J.: personal agt. for Maximilian, 356; activities, 356-7; sketch, 356-7.
- Fish: Ind. have, 195; as food, 198, 375; in Fla., 202; kept in pond, 374.
- Fisher, Lillian Estelle: notice, 262; article by, 488-504; reviews book, 505-7; cited, 87 n, 500 n.
- Fisheries: whale and fur seal near Falklands, 471, 474, 486; free use granted by Buenos Aires, 473; U. S. claims, rights to, 478, 481-2, 484.
- Fishermen: Yankee, at Falklands, 471; encouraged to settle in, 474.
- Flags: instruction rdg., 43; Span., presented to Brit. king, 305; insurgents raise, 429; in E. Fla., 429 n; Span., 435; rev'nary, in E. Fla., 435; removed, 437; U. S. ship flies French, 476.
- Flanders: trading co. proposed for, 10; Span. vessels in, 11; Span. agt. in, 11; represented in Span. junta, 12 n; Span. islands should be open to trade of, 15-16.
- Flassau, ———: declaration by, 81.
- Flemish (Flemings): letter rdg., 12; present trade petition, 15; dangerous to admit to Span. trade, 16; to be included in co., 20; disliked in Spain, 60; in Span. trade, 288 n; in ship's crew, 291 n.
- Florence, Italy: Tejada at, 168.
- Flores, Ferdinand (translator): from Denmark, 361; translates letter, 362-3.
- Florida (La Florida; Laflaritten): considered an island, 178, 202, 202 n; coast discovered, 178; channel of, important, 303; animals in, 202; its inhab. malicious, 202; Indians, good fighters, 202 n; hostile, 176; Anglo-Amer. organize expd. against, 78; liberation of La. will be good example for, 80; Hernandez de Córdova returns via, 176; Span. plans against indirect, 266; Huguenots in, massacred, 287, 288; U. S. occupy, 416; two attempts to revolutionize, 418; cession to U. S., opposed, 423; Span. officials realize danger to, 424; reason U. S. desires, 425.
- Florida, East: location, 425 n; pop., 417; Anglo. Amer. planters in, 424; industries, 417-18; prosperous under Spain, 417-8, 424; trade center, 424; Brit. in, 277; Span.-Anglo-Amer. expd. against proposed, 279; rev'n. of 1812-14, 415-45; rev'n exhibits condition of disintegration, 415; Span. govt. in mild, 417; affected by rev'n. in W. Fla., 419; U. S. promise to restore, 422; Mathews commissioned to act. rdg., 422; ready for revolt, 423; plans rdg., overthrown, 428-9; Laval not authorized to attack, 433; U. S. troops in,

- 436, 442; U. S. forces withdrawn, 443, 444; possible occupation sanctioned, 439; Mitchell asked to take charge of U. S. troops in, 439-40; invasion by Mathews repudiated, 440-1; Kindelan saves for Spain, 441; bill rdg. permanency, fails, 442; insurgents granted amnesty, 443; flourishing at beginning of rev'n, 444; Ind. warfare in, 441; papers, in Lib'y. of Cong., 246 n.
- Florida, West: policies in Brit., 265; Brit. in, ignorant of war, 274 n; Gálvez campaigns against, 275 n; Span. favor Anglo-Amer. attack on, 268; this is planned, 270; Brit. attack from, feared, 272; plan attack on New Orleans, 272; Span. plans rdg., 276; Brit. in, 277; Span. exped. against prepared, 280; affects E. Fla., 419; repub. of, estab., 419; U. S. Com'n in, 421; U. S. claims, 422, 425.
- Floridablanca, José Moñino, Conde de (Span. prime min.): favors Fr. reforms, 65; letter to, cited, 65 n, 84 n.
- Floridas: Fr. designs rdg., 77; Span. projects rdg., 265-85; ceded to Eng., 265; Anglo-Amer. willing to guarantee Spain possession of, 275-6, 276 n; cession to Spain proposed, 275 n; proposed that Anglo-Amer. capture, 276; to be pledged for loan, 276; Span. officials to be retained in, 421; pres. authorized to establ. temporary govt. in, 421.
- Florida State Historical Society (The): activities, 287 n.
- Flowers: as barter, 177.
- Fogaza, Antonio (Portuguese): in Eng., 488 n.
- Folch, Vicente (Span. gov. of W. Fla.): offers to transfer prov. to U. S., 419; Madison believes his offer, 421; retracts offer, 422.
- Folney, Mr. ———: becomes emissary of Fr. Rev'nists, 82; description, 83; well supplied with funds, 83; characterized, 82-3; cited, 83 n.
- Fonseca, Manuel de: heads Flemish merchants, 15; loyal, 16; a capable trader, 16; ambitious, 18; repeats proposal, 19; opposed, 20.
- Food and Foodstuffs: Ind. have plenty, 195; corregidor regulates price, 462. Various items—bread, 200-1, 461; fish, 195, 198, 202, 374, 375; fruit, 199, 209; grain, 207, 209, 461, 466; honey, 198, 200, 201, 209; maize, 192, 195, 197; meat, 462, 522; milk, 462; millet [*i.e.*, maize?], 198, 201; olive oil, 21, 27, 462; sugar, 15, 27, 493.
- Forbes, John M. (agt. at Buenos Aires): not informed of decrees, 478, 481; fails to examine records, 479; death, 475; letter and rept., cited, 39 n, 57.
- Ford, Paul L.: cited, 77 n.
- Foreign Relations of U. S.*, cited, 322 n.
- Foreigners: dangerous to admit, 9; excluded from Indies, 14 n, 25, 87; in Havana, 65, 84; in Mex., 88, 94; freed in Mex., 98; occupy and expelled from islands, 299. Privileges granted to, merchants, 2; engage in smuggling, 6, 294, 300; enrich themselves at expense of Spain, 7; find trading companies useful, 8; take part in trade, 14; own stock in companies, 17, 25; Flemish are, 18; participate in co., 21; trade in Caracas, 28; arrest ordered, 85; Span. laws against urged, 87; orders against, enforced in Mex., 96; interested in Yucatan, 140; Span. severe with captured, 288; attack Indies, 289; effect of aggression by, 296; gain in power, 300; eccles. declared, for violation of law, 319; special court attention given to, 458; supervision ordered, at Falklands, 486; Croix's attitude toward, 497-8; marriage in Peru, advisable, 500.
- Forey, Elias Federico (Fr. Gen.): his program in Mex., 323.
- Forge: Maese Joan makes, 373.
- Fort and Fortifications: Brit. restore to U. S., 38 n; at Buenos Aires, 44;

- Anglo-Amer. plan capture, 266, 268 n;
 Brit. in Amer., 272; Gálvez erects in
 New Orleans, 272; Span. in La., 273;
 Brit., object of Span. attack, 274;
 Span. capture, 280; Span. colonial neg-
 lected, 289; lath works, 289; how lo-
 cated, 289 n; Span. late in building,
 290; Span. build in colonies, 295.
 Cempoalla, 200; Pitt, 273; in Georgia,
 277; Morro, in Havana, 295; in Span.
 harbors, 295; George, 313; Margarita,
 370; Fernandina, 427 n, 430-1, 432,
 434; Moosa, 438, 440, 441; in Falk-
 lands, 476; planned for Colorado
 River, 490; in Vitoe, 493; at Callao,
 496.
- Forum Judicun:* cited, 539, 542 n.
- Foster, Augustus J. (Brit. min. to U.
 S.): coöperates with Onís, 424-5; cited,
 425; letter to, cited, 425 n.
- Foster, Capt. Winslow: commands gun-
 boat, 428 n; cited, 429 n, 430 n, 434 n,
 435 n, 437 n, 442 n.
- Fournier, Juan: charge against, 91, 92;
 death, 96.
- Fowls: in Mex., 196, 207; used for food,
 198.
- France: greatest European nation, 19;
 its history glorious, 111; a Cath. coun-
 try, 329; Colombia compared to, 167;
 Mex. compared to, 329; desires colonial
 empire, 15; its colonies, 17; Bourbons
 destroyed in, 92; Napoleon regenerates,
 330; port in, increases in importance,
 2; growth of its marine power, 15;
 large navy urged, 83; rev'nary army,
 79-80. National Ass'y, 62, 64, 65, 67,
 88, 89; Committee of Pub. Safety, 70;
 conventions, 92; minister, 277; policy
 of govt., 169; partially approves buc-
 caneers, 287; reforms in, favored, 65;
 its plans for supremacy, 90-1; fishing
 rights, 483. Relations with other coun-
 tries—interested in European affairs,
 70; at war with European countries,
 74; Europe opposed to, 76; hostile to
- Spain and active hostilities with, 15,
 67, 93, 96, 291, 293; Spain influenced
 by, 60; connections with Nootka-Sound
 controversy, 65-7; Spain seeks aid of,
 66; attitude of Spain toward, 189;
 Spain allied with, 96, 98; restores
 Ferdinand VII., 165; acts for Spain,
 267 n; Span. spies in, 288; makes
 treaty with Spain, 291, 301, 365.
 Events of discussed in Mex., 65; hopes
 to aid Mex., 70; meddles in Mex., 86-7;
 expects to control Mex., 90; consul at
 Yucatan, 141; prince for Mex., sought
 in, 322-3; Charlotte's mission to, fails,
 359; connection with Miranda, 67, 68,
 70; relations with La., 71, 79, 80, 81,
 82; hopes to liberate Span.-Amer., 81;
 rev'nary influence from, in Span.
 Amer., 145. At peace with Eng., 15;
 aids Eng. colonies, 67; secret treaty
 with, 365. Papacy asks aid of, 169.
 Miscellaneous—trade companies do not
 prosper in, 22; letter from, 89; ed'l
 methods, 111-12; buccaneers attack,
 301.
- Franchises: granted univ. of San Marcos,
 110.
- Franklin, Benjamin: Sayre, associate of,
 73.
- Freemasons: Span. attitude toward, 61;
 in Mex., 92.
- Fredonian Republic: result of rev'n, 416.
- Freight: ships carry, 24, 25.
- Freire, Gen. Ramón: welcomes Muzi,
 163; M. delivers papal letter to, 163;
 ousts O'Higgins, 163 n.
- French: trade operations in Caribbean,
 15; have trading companies, 20, 21;
 propose trading co., 29; traders among
 Ind., 87 n. Brackenridge's pamphlet
 translated into, 54; Chesterfield trans-
 lated into, 62-3; books in, prohibited,
 62; republic considered by, 71 n; as
 servants, 87; rev'nary, undesirable,
 96; property restored to, 97 n; in
 ship's crew, 291 n; purchase church

- property, 346; their name for Falklands, 471. Relations, etc., with other peoples—interested in European affairs, 70; disliked in Spain, 60, 87; in Spain, 61 n; in Span. service, 87; Span. arrest and try, 88; Span. plan to ask aid from, 275; ships menace Span., 286. In Mex., 63, 87-98, 323; arrested and tried in Mex., 63-4, 89, 91-2, 95-6; orders to arrest in, 93-4; liberation, 97; connection with Miranda, 69, 70 n; tolerated in Mex., 88; naturalized in Mex., 94; many in provincias internas, 95; deported from Vera Cruz, 96; fail to inaugurate reforms in Mex., 334. Seek asylum in U. S., 61-2; attitude of U. S. toward forces, 356. Their rev'nary plans on La. border, 70-82; inhabit La., 71, 80, 87; plan to liberate Span. Amer., 71, 77, 88. Huguenot colonies massacred, 287; threaten Fla., 288; in E. Fla., 417. Ousted from islands, 299; attack by, feared in Jamaica, 315.
- Friars: mendicant aided by Croix, 503. *See also* Priests; and other eccles. captions.
- Frontiers: of La., weak, 268; Ind. raid E. Fla., 441.
- Frontiersmen: U. S. characterized, 416; ready for revolt, 424; McIntosh influential among, 426.
- Fruits: in barter, 177; in Mex., 199; Columbus takes to Spain, 203; strange, in Mex., 207.
- Fuero Real*: compilation (1256-65), 533 n; Alfonso probably responsible for pub. of, 532; criticised, 532; displaced, 533; *Siete Partidas* subject to, 537; Roman law in, 539.
- Fuero Viejo*: García inaugurates preparation, 530; establ. in Castile, 533.
- Fueros*: in Spain, 530; of León and Castile, 531 n; *Siete Partidas* subject to, 537; used in compiling *Partidas*, 541.
- Fueros de Sobrarbe*: cited, 530.
- Fugitives: negro, in E. Fla., 417.
- Fuggers (Augsburg bankers): active in Spain, 181; print news letters, 185.
- Fuller, Hubert B.: cited, 426 n, 431 n, 435 n.
- Funds: furnished to Olaete, 85; held in corregimientos, 466.
- G****ALDAMES**, Luis: cited, 148, 161 n.
- Galicía, Spain: proposed to transport soldiers from gratis, 18.
- Gálvez, Conde Bernardo de (gov. of La. and W. Fla., and later viceroy of Mex.): becomes gov. of La., 268; has Fr. employes, 87; favors war with Eng., 268; seizes Brit. ships, 269, 270; Eng. attitude toward, 270; attitude toward Eng. col., 270; advises Pollock, 270; favors exped. to Pensacola, 272; fortifies New Orleans, 272; suggests invasion by Anglo-Amer., 272-3; tricks Brit., 273; heads exped., 274; Navarro fails to support, 275 n; prepares exped. against Pensacola, 280; mil. operations against Mississippi, 280; campaign against W. Fla., 280-5; sends plans to Navarro, 281; requests additional troops, 282; Girón sent to, 283; unaware of action in Havana, 283; attitude toward Navarro, 283-4; plans to attack Mobile, 285; orders advance of troops, 285; inspects province, 268; coöperates with Croix, 489; not allowed to aid Croix, 490; sketch, 268 n; characterized, 274, 280; letters to and by, cited, 266 n, 268 n, 271 n, 272, 272 n, 273 n, 274 n, 279 n, 280 n, 281 n, 282 n, 283 n, 284, 284 n, 490, 491 n; edict, cited, 269 n.
- Gálvez, José de: minister of Indies, 268 n; plan considered, 267; rejects Navarro's plan, 275; plans revealed to Croix, 488; letters to and by, cited, 267 n, 272, 272 n, 273 n, 276, 276 n, 280 n, 281 n, 282 n, 283 n, 284, 284 n.

- Gálvez, Manuel: reviews Wast's novels, 116.
- Gambling: corregidor must prohibit, 456; he opens houses for, 467; state promotes, 534.
- Game: abounds in Mex., 208.
- Garay, Francisco (Span. gov. of Jamaica): organizes and despatches exped., 178, 201 n; Cortés takes men from his fleet, 179; sends acct. of exped. to Spain, 179; lightly mentioned in news letter, 184; confused with Cortés, 201 n.
- Garbage: corregidor must dispose of, 462.
- García, Juan Agustín: undervalues cabildo, 150.
- García, Sancho (conde de Castilla): inaugurates preparation of new code, 530.
- García de Bustamante, Manuel: sponsors trading co., 20; his requirements, 21; his plan opposed, 21-2; his reply to objection, 22; repts. decision of junta, 23.
- García Icazbalceta, Joaquín: cited, 185.
- García Merou, Martín: cited, 37 n, 54, 54 n.
- Garcilaso de la Vega: cited, 369.
- Gardens: early, in Mex., 207.
- Gardoqui, Diego (Span. min. to U. S.): his relations with Lee, 276; letter to, cited, 85 n; by, cited, 276 n.
- Garrison, George P.: cited, 133 n, 134 n.
- Garrisons: French, in La., 71; Span. neglect, 290; Span. unpaid, 293; estab. and reinforced in Span. col., 295; U. S. in Fort Moosa, 438; at St. Augustine, 442; at Fernandina, 443.
- Gastanaga, ——— (gov. at Brussels): petition presented to, 15; forwards papers rdg. trading co., 16.
- Gates: Mex. City has, 200.
- Gaucho: Wast portrays, 119.
- Gayarré, Charles: cited, 80 n.
- Gayangos, Pascual de: pub. letter, 188 n.
- Gayoso de Lemos, Manuel (Span. gov. of Natchez): cited, 70-72, 544 n; letter to, cited, 80 n.
- Gems: in Mex., 196, 209; as gifts, 210, 313.
- Genêt, Edmond Charles (Fr. agt. in U. S.): sows seeds of rev'n in La., 71; plan to send him on mission, 71; suggests that agts. be sent to help him, 72; instructions to, 74-5; departure delayed, 75; his methods characterized, 77; his aims in U. S., 77; foiled by Washington, 77-8; confides in Jefferson, 77-8; continues his propaganda, 78; westerners prevented from aiding, 78 n; violates U. S. neutrality, 79; recalled, 79, 80, 81, 86; Fauchet replaces, 80; center of his rev'nary plans, 86; criticised, 79; letters to, and by, cited, 76, 77, 78, 78 n, 81.
- Genoa, Italy: com'l inquiry in, 12; Cienfuegos arrives in, 161.
- Genoese: engage in spice trade, 288 n.
- George III. (king of Eng.): Anglo-Amer. oppose designs of, 75; London council congratulates, 305; holds great court, 305; his reaction to capture of Havana, 306-7; determined on peace, 309; mem'l sent to, 310; loses gains made by Peacock, 316; address from throne, cited, 307.
- Georgia (prov. & state): exped. organized in, 78; Brit. in, 277; Washington's sentiments regarding, 277; Brit. campaign in, planned, 278; Span.-Amer. campaign for, proposed, 279; legislature, 314; attitude toward capture of Havana, 314; U. S. authorized to occupy terr. south of, 420; Mathews goes to, 421 n, 431; U. S. troops in, 422; rev'nalists maintain relations with, 442; fears Brit. invasion, 442. *See also* Mathews, George; and Mitchell, D. B.
- Geography: rept. on, in Plata region, 52.

- Germans: advised that trade open to, 13; in Span. trade, 288 n; in E. Fla., 417.
- Germany: news from, pub. in Spain, 180; early printing in, 181.
- Ghent, Belgium: Brit. negotiations at, 483-4.
- Giants: in Mex. mts., 211.
- Gibson, George (rev'nalist): mission in New Orleans, 266; confers with Unzaga, 266-7; a landowner, 267 n; sketch, 267 n.
- Gibraltar, Spain: Gt. Brit. owns, 303; gateway to Mediterranean, 303.
- Gifts: Peruvian students make, 110; Montezuma sends to Cortés, 177; Cortés sends to Spain, 179; Ind. give, 187; sent to Charles, 362-3; given to Ind., 195; wedding, in Mex., 210; to Lib'y of Cong., 243-6; of money to corregidor, 470.
- Gil de Lemos, ——— (viceroys of Peru): cited, 60.
- Gil Fortoul, José: cited, 160 n.
- Giner de los Ríos, Dr. Francisco (Span. scholar): cited, 112-13.
- Girón, Geronimo (Span. officer): goes to New Orleans, 283.
- Girondists: attitude toward Span. colonies, 68; violate neutrality of U. S., 81; repudiated, 81.
- Gloria, Maria da: Miguel acts as regent for, 173 n.
- Goats: Span. find wild, 196.
- Godoy Álvarez de Faria Ríos Sánchez y Zarzosa, Manuel de (prince of peace): letters to, cited, 64 n, 96 n, 97.
- Goebel, Julius L., Jr.: cited, 36 n.
- Gold: in cargo, 9; Honduras lacks, 27; in Yucatan, 176, 198; much at Vera Cruz, 176; as barter, 177; Cortés desires, 177; he sends, to Spain, 179; seized, 180; ornaments, 187; Ind. give to Span., 195, 196, 200, 363; in Mex., 199, 200, 207. Abundant in Indies, 202; in Pánuco region, 202; in temple, 207; sold in Mex., 209; how extracted, 495.
- Goldsmith, Dr. Peter: death, 518; praised, 518-19.
- Goldsmiths: in Mex., 199.
- Gómez Labrada, Pedro: Span. agt. in Rome, 170; compared to Vargas, 170; activities in Rome, 170-1; discouraged, 171; writes his govt., 171.
- Gondy, H.: cited, 544 n.
- González, ——— (mil. gov. of Juan Fernández): Croix deposes, 497; dismissed, 497-8.
- Gorgas Mem'l Institute: notice, 249-50.
- Governors: corregidor ranks with, 446, 448, 449.
- Graft: among Mex. officials, 448; in Hisp. Amer., 526.
- Graham, John: app. member of S. A. com'n, 38; makes separate rept., 50; his rept. analyzed, 52, 54; sketch, 39; letters to and by, cited, 42 n, 43 n, 44 n, 46 n, 48 n.
- Grain: idol made of, 207; many kinds in Mex., 209; corregidor regulates price, 461; Ind. made to sell below price, 466.
- Granada, Spain: Tlaxcala compared to, 205.
- Grants: special shipping, 28.
- Grapes: in Mex., 209.
- Gratian (Gratianus): cited, 540, 542.
- Great Britain: houses of parliament, 305; agts., 439; attitude of Span. Amer. to, 53; gains Gibraltar, 303; news of capture of Havana reach, 303; capture, changes opinion in, 309; holds best position in making treaty, 309, engaged in illicit trade, 418; protests Mathews's actions, 424-5; Monroe warns, 425; rumor that employs black troops, 430; war with U. S. threatened, 436; connection of, with Falklands, 471-2, 482, 483, 484; comes to agreement with Argentina, 485; holds convention with U. S., 483, 484; frees U. S. vessels, 486. *See also* England; *and* English.
- Great Colombia: Santander, vice pres., 160; best organized govt. in S. A., 167; dissolved, 174.

- Great Venice (name for Mex.): Cem-
poalla hostile to, 200; Mex. City called,
200 n, 201.
- Greenhow, Robert: cited, 472, 472 n.
- Gregory VII.: renaissance of church dur-
ing his period, 540.
- Gregory IX.: his decretals compiled, 540.
- Gregory XVI.: elected pope (1831), 172;
recognizes independence of Span.-
Amer. republics, 172-3; issues bull,
173; favors Don Miguel, 173 n; deals
directly with Span.-Amer. states, 175;
bull, cited, 173 n.
- Gregory, Winifred (ed.) book reviewed,
218-20.
- Grenville, Lord William Wyndham: Mi-
randa's proposal to, 66.
- Grey, ———: at Juan Fernández, 497.
- Grijalva (Agrisalua, Grisalva): leader of
Span. exped., 176; discovers Cozumel,
176; sends advice ship to Velázquez,
176-7; Cortés follows route of, 177;
names Almeria, 178; Garay plans to
explore north of, 178; his exped., 183,
187-9; Ind. threaten, 188; wounded,
188; names bay, 188 n; returns to Fer-
nandina, 189; acct. of, translated from
Span., 361.
- Grimaldo, José Gutiérrez de Solórzano:
cited, 25 n.
- Grimm, Sigmund: early printer, 184.
- Guadalajara, Mex., audiencia, 447, 494,
497.
- Guamanga, Peru: king app. corregidor
in, 450; salary of corregidor in, 463;
bp. of, 501.
- Guancavelica, Peru: Croix interested in
mine of, 495-6; insubordination in, 501.
- Guarantees: of shares of stock, 17; sov-
ereignty of people, 75; of Spain to
Cuba, 365.
- Guarochiri, Peru: official expelled from,
498.
- Guatemala: Span. plan to raid islands
near, 176; decree by, 388; appts. na-
tional com., 519.
- Guatemala City: mdse. transferred to, 28.
- Guazacoalcos, Mex.: Coste sought in, 86.
- Guerrero, Juan: plans revolt in Mex., 91;
Fr. rev'n influences, 91.
- Guianas: U. S. investments in, 524.
- Guicar, Manuel: associate of Malvert,
90 n.
- Guides: to transcripts in Lib'y of Cong.,
245.
- Guilds: consulado in, 5; can participate
in co., 20.
- Guinea: trading per. requested for, 17.
- Guiteras, Pedro José: book by, reviewed,
222-4.
- Gulfs and Bays: Span. at, 188, 188 n; ex-
plored, 188 n. Named—Ascension, 188,
188 n; Honduras, 188 n; Mexico, 74,
77, 178, 201 n, 265; San Juan de Ulua,
189; Sanctus Spiritus, 15; Tampa, 417.
- Gunpowder: Span. sell to Amer., 267,
267 n; sent to Porto Rico, 288 n; Ind.
learn to make, 490; magazine at Cuzco,
494.
- Gutiérrez, Francisco: chartmaker, 373.
- Gutiérrez de Estrada, ———: launches
monarchical movement in Mex., 322-3;
plans to go to Rome, 327; Charlotte
contradicts, 329; tries to dissuade
Maximilian, 350; an exile, 350-1; let-
ters to and by, 324, 343, 350, 351 n.
- Gutiérrez Moreno, Agustín: succeeds
Echeverría, 160.
- HACKETT**, Charles Wilson: transcripts
made under direction of, 244; pro-
poses series, 257; chm. of com., 258;
rept. by, 258; translator and editor,
258.
- Haiti: negotiates treaty, 385.
- Hakluyt, Richard: cited, 292 n.
- Haldimand, ———: letter to, cited,
269 n.
- Halifax, Earl ———: presents cap-
tured colors to king, 305.
- Halsey, Thomas L. (U. S. official in
Buenos Aires): supports Devereux, 35;

- signs treaty without authorization, 35; receives com'n, 44; letter by, cited, 49 n.
- Hamilton, Earl J.: gains award, 384-5.
- Hammond, George (Eng. min. to U. S.): informs gov. of Cuba of rev'nary plan, 86; letter by, cited, 86 n.
- Hammond, George P.: book reviewed, 510-11.
- Hammond, Col. Samuel: organizes exped. against Fla., 78.
- Hammurabi: Alfonso X. compared to, 534.
- Hancock, John: Mendez compared to, 143.
- Hannegan, Sen. ———: repts. bill, 141.
- Hansard, Thomas Curson: cited, 305 n.
- Hanseatic League: methods of operation, 1.
- Hapsburgs: displaced by Bourbons, 19.
- Harbors. *See* Ports and Harbors.
- Hares: in Mex., 196.
- Haring, Clarence H.: studies fellowship question, 528; cited, 3 n, 5 n, 286 n, 287 n, 290 n, 301 n.
- Harrisse, Henry: cited, 183, 201 n.
- Haro, Cristoval de: cloves delivered to, 185.
- Harrison, Benjamin: member of war board, 271 n.
- Hartford, Conn.: celebrates capture of Havana, 313.
- Hasbrouck, Alfred: reviews books, 99-103; book reviewed, 214-15; translator and editor, 258.
- Hasse, Adelaide R.: reviews book, 218-20.
- Hatchets: Ind. demand, 370.
- Havana (Habana, The Havanah, Havanah), Cuba: "Queen of the Indies," 303; Paris of Caribbean, 308; Pearl of Antilles, 310; importance, 303, 305, 310, 313, 315; fortified, 292; new towers built in, 295; Morro Castle, 295, 424; Coat-of-Arms granted to, 303 n; described in London magazine, 304 n; trade center, 4, 303 n, 308; supplies furnished Amer. col. thro', 267; yellow fever in, 365, 367. Trading co. studied in, 1 n; foreigners in, 65; Cortés leaves, 177; Anglo-Amer. plan to consult gov., 278; Fernant sent to, 278-9; chief engr. at, 282; Navas returns to, 283; U. S. consuls at, 364; Clayton at, 365, 366; Anglo-Amer. imprisoned in, 366; U. S. com'n in, 367; Maese Joan in, 374; conferences in, 251, 255, 388. Mil. plans in, 266; Span. troops raised in, 274; troops from requested, 281; Brit. attack, 281; Span. troops sent from, 284; munitions sent from, 288 n; militia in, 295; Eng. capture, 303; reaction thereat, 303-16; Span. colors taken at, 305; capture, a great feat, 306 n; George III.'s attitude toward, 307; importance of capture, 308, 309, 310; turns heads of people, 309; capture "an act of God," 312; capture frees south from privateers, 313-14; Pocock congratulated on, 315; Brit. merchants protest cession, 310 n; advantages of capture lost, 316.
- Hawkins, John: Span. attitude toward, 286-7; raids Span. col., 292; Span. defeat, 293; names islands for Queen, 471.
- Hazewell, C. C.: cited, 311 n.
- Headdress: feather, 210.
- Henas y Muñoz, ———: cited, 532 n.
- Henderson, Mr. ———: calls on Clayton, 367.
- Henry, John (Brit. agt.): Madison complains of, 439.
- Heretics: Span. burn, 208.
- Hernández de Córdova, Francisco: leads slave-hunting exped., 176; wounded, 176.
- Herrera, José Joaquín (pres. of Mex.): opposes war with U. S., 142; characterized, 142.
- Herrera y Tordesillas, Antonio: cited, 289 n.

- Hervey, Capt. ———: takes news of capture of Havana to London, 303.
- Hespelt, Dr. Herman: lectures on Wast, 116.
- Hibberson, John: cited, 428, 430 n, 433 n, 434 n.
- Hidalgo y Costilla, Miguel: Maximilian extols, 357; writes M., 352 n.
- Higueras (Hibueras, Las Veras, Ybo-reas): discovered, 188, 188 n.
- Hides and Skins: bro't. from Yucatan, 363; used as protection, 375.
- Higues, Sto Domingo: Maese Joan at, 370.
- Hispanic Amer.: bibliographies of, 390-409.
- Hispanic American Historical Group: organized, 241-3; action by, 258.
- Hispanic Peoples: rept. on lib'y. coopération with, 516-20.
- Hispanic Society of America: has valuable collection, 547; has right to use books of Lib'y of Cong., 549.
- Historia de la Repub. Argentina*: cited, 56 n.
- Historia Jeneral de Chile*: cited, 52 n.
- Historical MSS. Commission: cited, 269 n.
- Hispanoqui, Tiburcio: draws up defense plans, 292.
- Hobbes, Thomas: Volney worse than, 62.
- Hogs: wild, in Falklands, 486.
- Holguin, Diego (companion of Cortés): in Sto. Domingo, 185.
- Holy Alliance: Muzi accused of being agt. of, 163, 164.
- Holy Allies: restore Ferdinand VII., 165; Leo XII. in league with, 166; Spain refuses advice, 169.
- Holy Roman Empire: Charles, emperor of, 318.
- Holland: colonies, 17; a republic, 22; trading companies flourish in, 22; Fr. seek as ally, 69; Fr. at war with, 74; Span. ships built in, 297; its gains in Amer., 300; keeps peace with Spain, 301. *See also* Dutch.
- Honduras: shipping to, 20; co. formed for trade to, 23; trading ships proposed for, 24; ships sail for, 26; lacks gold and silver, 27.
- Honduras Company: identified, 20, 20 n.
- Honey: Ind. use, 198; much in Mex., 200; used for food, 201; sold in Mex. markets, 209.
- Hoover, Herbert (pres. of U. S.): visits S. A., 523, 550.
- Horses: Cortés uses, 193-4, 204; frighten Ind., 194; artificial, made in Mex., 209; trade carried on by, 212.
- Hos, Nicolas: serves Croix, 87.
- Hoskins, Halford L.: cited, 34 n.
- Hospitals: erection, 319; viceroy provides in Peru, 496; children's in Peru, 503.
- Houses: Ind. have stone, 184; of Mex. Ind., 197; how built, 198, 200; number in various Mex. towns, 205-6; corregidor forbidden to build or buy, 454.
- Howe, Sir William: letters to, cited, 269 n.
- Howe, William Wirt: cited, 538 n.
- Hoya, José de (eccles.): expelled from Tarma, 498.
- Huet, Luis (Span. engr.): plans campaign, 282; his plan not adopted, 283; member of conference, 283 n.
- Huguenots: massacred in Fla., 287.
- Humboldt, Alexander von: praises work on S. A., 55 n.
- Hume, Martin A. S.: cited, 11 n.
- Hunt, William: cited, 308 n.
- Hunter, ———: cited, 531 n, 539, 544 n.
- Huntington, Archer M.: creates fund for Hispanic books, 545-50; characterized, 547.
- Hurricanes: in W. Fla., 281-2.
- Hurtado, Francisco (intendant in Peru): removed for engaging in trade, 497.
- Hussey, Roland D.: articles by, 1-30, 286-302; corrections in paper of, 247.

- I**BERIAN Peninsula: kingdoms in, 317; papacy extends control over, 317.
- Idols: Ind. worship, 197, 198, 199, 202, 207.
- Ignacio Mateo (bp. of Zacateca): signs mem'l, 337.
- Illuminations: celebrate victory, 304, 312, 313.
- Imlay, Gilbert: attitude toward Span. colonies, 72; meets Paine, 73; sketch, 73; cited, 73.
- Immunities: granted univ., 110.
- Importers: in Peru, 498.
- Incampechos (Ind. chief): baptized as Lazaro, 188.
- Incas: Span. seize empire, 107; their ancient capital, 493.
- Incense: Ind. use, 197.
- Incomes: for univ. of San Marcos, 107; small convents have slight, 499.
- Independence: S. A. declares, 31; Buenos Aires declares, 34 n; how Mex. prepared for struggle, 65; position of Cabello in, 150.
- Index: books on, 61-63.
- India: Dutch trade with, 10; trade not for rebels, 10; Portugal trades with, 10; econ. status, 12; Lisbon, a trade center for, 12; Flemish trade with 12; discoveries in East, 212.
- Indians: described in early letter, 185; Yucatan, described, 362; depicted in novels, 120; element in Mex., 354; Chinese compared to, 209; language taught in univ., 108; writings, 363; chiefs called Caciques, 189; status of mestizos, 147-8; mestizos in E. Fla., 417. Frightened at horses, 194; customs and habits, 196-7; wear body ornaments, 197, 200; practice mutilation, 197; industries and food, 197, 467; worship and sacrifices, 197, 199, 202, 207, 362; priestesses, 198; sorcerers among, 201-2; women, 177, 198, 362; childbirth, 210; children, 199, 207; war canoes, 370; how town governed, 446. Rev'n will liberate, 24; hostile to U. S., 78 n; Newnan fights, 442-3, 444; Fr. traders among, 87 n; hostile in various regions, 137, 138, 176, 177, 179, 185, 187, 188, 192, 370, 441; early Span. treatment, 176; Cortés sends, to Spain, 177; captured for slaves, 186-7; must not be enslaved, 146; Span. among, in Yucatan, 187; gifts made to, 187, 195-6, 363; relations with Cortés, 192-3; their attitude toward him, 193; attitude toward Spain, 194, 441; acknowledge Span. king, 195; Span. settlements guarded against, 289; in Valladolid, 362; Span. enlist aid of, 441 n; corregidor protects, 447; forced to sell goods below price, 466; pay tribute twice, 467; corregidores enrich themselves at their expense, 467; abuses against, 467-8, 470; their sufferings, 468-9; goods assigned to arbitrarily, 469; Croix studies question of, 489; Charlotte interested in, 354-5; Spain advised to treat well, 490; fire-arms traded to, 490; Eng. trade with, 490; not allowed to carry weapons, 495; eccles. tyrannize over, 498-9; suffer from land act, 500. Various tribes—Alachua, 417; Apaches, 489, 490; Araucanians, 499; Aztec, 197, 206, 208, 210-11; Caribs, 199; Lipanes, 490; Maya, 134, 138-9, 141, 142, 146; Tao-vayases, 490.
- Indies: western, divided into provinces, 446; govt. of cities in, 449-50; consulado hears cases rdg. trade, 5; trade systems in, 5-6; capital invited from, 8; prices low in, 9; nations trade with, 11; pres. of council of, on committee, 13; foreigners excluded from, 14 n, 25; Flemish desire admission into, 16; Flemish have no rights in, 18; Spain absolute in, 18; freer trade with proposed, 20; Spain runs risk of losing trade, 20; goods shipped from, 25; moral equality in, 145; jurisdiction

- over eccles. affairs in, 154, 318, 319, 320; origin of royal patronage in, 155; Cortés sends news from, 179; news from, printed in Spain, 180; news letters from, 202; Span. defense of, 286-302; Span. jealous of, 288; suffer from foreign attack, 289; Span. fleet divides in, 292; Span. resistance in, stiffens, 292; Antoneli sent to, 292; council of, 296 (*see also* Councils); open to attack, 297; effect of disasters in, 298; Havana key to, 302 n, 303; effect of capture of Havana on, 307; preachers desired in, 361; weapons not allowed in, 495. *See also* all "America" captions.
- Industries: Span. encourage, 19; in E. Fla., 417-18; intendants fail to encourage, 502.
- Informe General . . . Bucarely y Ursua*: cited, 447 n, 448 n.
- Inquisition: keeps certain books out of Mex., 60; Fr. rev'n keeps it busy, 61; proscribes certain books, 61, 62, 63; edict, 62; injured by book, 62; Mex. govt. assists, 64; commended, 65; active in suppressing rev'nary doctrines, 92; univ. exempt from action of, 110; Croix coöperates with, 499; in law, 542.
- Insects: various, 209, 211, 466.
- Institutions: reforms in Span., 19; Cabildo in Lima, 107.
- Instituto Hispano-Cubano: notice, 410; lib'y loan to, 517.
- Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas: notice, 413.
- Instructions: to com'l officers, 25-6; for S. A. com'n, 32, 33, 34, 40-3; for rev'nary committee, 73-4; to Genêt, 75-6, 78; to Revilla Gigedo, 83 n; to Olaeta, 84-5; for arrest of Fr. in Mex., 93-4; to Branciforte, 95; exempt from tax, 110; to Sierra O'Reilly, 139; to eccles. miss'n, 158, 159; agts. neglect, 158; to Echeverría, 160; to Cienfuegos, 161; to Vázquez, 169, 172; Unzaga requests, 267; J. de Gálvez gives, 272; Span. to various gov's, 273-4; to Miralles, 275, 279 n; to Jay, 275-6; Amer. for treaty with Eng., 275 n, 276 n; Cong. to Lincoln, 278; Navarro refuses to violate, 279; to Fernant, 279 n; papal, to Meglia, 331, 332; to Escudero, 333-4; Nuncio needs, 335, 337; Maximilian issues, 353, 354 n; to Clayton, 365; to com'rs, 421; to Mathews, 422, 427, 439 n, 445; to Campbell, 430; Laval has no, 433; to Mitchell, 439-40; to corregidor, 461, 464, 465; for protection of U. S. com., 477; to Baylies, 480-1; for defense, 496.
- Insurgents: at Rose's Bluff, 429; U. S. forces aid, 433. *See also* Revolutions.
- Intendancies: functions, 501-2; planned for Amer., 447; establ., 470, 492; Croix denounces, 500-1.
- Intendants: ordinance rdg., sent to tribunals, 491; defense instructions sent to, 496; Croix removes from office, 497; powers, 501; eccles. quarrel with, 501; characterized, 502; not lawyers, 502; Croix criticises, 501-3. *See also* Intendancies.
- Inter-American Historical Series: rept. on, 257-61.
- International Conference of Amer. States: held in Havana, 527.
- Interpreters: Grijalva uses, 188, 189; Cortés uses, 189, 192, 194.
- Invasions: Gálvez favors Amer., 272; foreign in Indies, 287-9; by Mathews, disclaimed, 440-1; ruinous to E. Fla., 443.
- Investments: in proposed trading co., 20; value of U. S. in *Hisp. Amer.*, 389.
- Irish: in Amer. Rev., 267 n; in ship's crews, 291 n.
- Irrigation: corregidor controls, 460; discussed in *Partidas*, 538.
- Irun, Spain: papal nuncio stopped at, 170.

- Irving, Washington: influence, 545.
- Isaacs, Col. Ralph (aide to Mathews): designs E. Fla. flag, 429 n.
- Isabella I. (Queen of Spain): successors able, 318; corregidor under, 449.
- Islands: various discovered, 176, 203; location of various, 203, 361, 368, 369, 370, 471; along N. E. Fla. coast, 417; Florida considered, 178; Yucatan called, 192; fleets separate at, 4; trade in, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 21, 286, 315 n, 485; trade centers among, 18, 303 n; buccaneers operate in, 15; Fr. possessions, 15; French try to discover weakness of Span., 15; colonists from, 16; free transportation proposed for soldiers, 17; rights of trade in, asked, 17; Span. fear effects of trade in, 18; foreigners in, 65; rev'nary plans for, 73, 83-4; negroes expelled from, 84; blockaded, 135, 471; treatment of natives in, 176; Span. intend to raid, 176; Garay's ships at, 179; various expeds. among, 187, 189-92; ships seized at, 286, 476, 486; Spain neglects, 287; royal orders rdg., 288 n; protected and fortified, 290, 292, 294, 295, 298; Eng. defeated at, 293, 299; fleets formed in, 294; towns in, depop., 294; attacked and seized, 295, 298, 418; settled, 298, 471; foreigners driven from, 299; foreigners intrenched in, 300; Eng. in various, 300, 301, 315, 471; slave outbreak feared in, 315; martial law in, 315; victory celebrated in, 315 n; castaways on, 369, 370, 371; Anglo-Amer. seize, 434 n; ceded, 436, 473; dispute over, 471-87; possession taken of, 471, 472, 481; landgrants in, 472; Buenos Aires claims, 473-4, 481; capital in, 474; fisheries in, 474, 483, 486; sold to Spain, 481. Named—Amelia, 415-16, 418, 430, 431 n, 432, 434 n, 435, 436; Antigua, 315 n; Antilles, 4, 15, 294, 298, 300, 310, 548; Arriba, 371; Bermudas, 298, 299; Brit. Isles (*see* Gt. Britain); Canaries, 16, 18; Carmen, 135, 136, 137, 140; Chiloé, 497; Chosumellam (*see* Cozumel); Cother mellam (*see* Cozumel); Cozumel (Santa Cruz), 176, 187, 189-92; Cubagua (Jubachaw), 209, 209 n; Curaçao, 18, 299; East Indies, 10, 11, 17; Falklands, 471-87; Femeren (Fimbria), 361; Fernandina, 186, 187, 189; Fimbria (*see above* Femeren); Guaimacaran, 370; Hispaniola, 15-17, 203, 294; Indias, 186 (*see above* Fernandina); Isla de Lobos, 178; Jamaica, 18, 21, 139, 178, 179, 295, 298, 299, 315, 315 n, 373; Juan Fernández, 497; Jubachaw (*see* Cubagua); Lesser Antilles, 287; Maidenland, 471 (*see above* Falklands); Malouines, 471 (*see above* Falklands); Malvinas, 471 (*see above* Falklands); Martinique, 82; Meluca, (Maluco, Moluccas), 212; Nevins, 299; Newfoundland, 11, 483; Philippine, 1 n, 4, 537, 538; Piritu, 370; Porto (Puerto) Rico, 15-17, 247, 288 n, 290, 292, 293, 295, 298, 370, 539; Providence, 299 n; St. Kitts, 299; San Juan (*see above* Porto Rico); San Martín, 299; Santa Catalina, 299; Santa Cruz, 187, 189, 204, 204 n, 370 (*see above* Cozumel); Santo Domingo, 16, 83-4, 176, 179, 181, 185, 286, 290, 295, 298; Serrana Keys, 368-9, 372; Serranilla, 369; Sebal, 471 (*see also above* Falklands); Sicily, 12; Soledad, 473, 474, 477; Tortugas, 299; Trinidad, 299; West Indies, 7, 9, 11, 65, 89, 176, 301, 303 n, 308, 524; Windward, 21. *See also* Cuba.
- Istacmastitan (Iztamastitan): Cortés in, 204-5; location, 204-5.
- Italians: allowed to participate in co., 20.
- Italy: Span. vassals in, 11; ex-Jesuits in, 68; news from, pub. in Spain, 180; plaquettes printed in, 181.
- Iturbide, Agustin de: makes treaty, 156; his period characterized, 320.
- Iucatan. *See* Yucatan.

- JACKSON**, Andrew (pres. of U. S.): approves Duncan's conduct, 480; message, cited, 477.
- Jacksonville, Fla.: location, 417.
- Jacobins: defeated in France, 79.
- Jail: prisoner in, 498.
- James I.: subjects, 292 n.
- Jameson, Dr. J. F.: inspires hist. atlas, 259.
- Jaudenes, ——— (Span. min. in U. S.): Adet protests to, 96-7; cited, 97 n.
- Jauja (Peruvian prov.): eccles. removed from, 498.
- Jay, John (U. S. statesman): sent to Spain, 275; instructions, 275-6; negotiations in Spain, 279.
- Jean, M. de (Haitian agt.): negotiates treaty, 385.
- Jefferson, Thomas: Rodney in cong. during his admin., 38; plans scientific exped., 76; informed of Fr. plans, 77; Genêt confides in, 77-8; letters by and to, cited, 77, 78, 78 n, 439 n.
- Jenks, Leland Harrison: book reviewed, 224-28.
- Jequetepeque (bridge): Croix constructs, 494.
- Jérez, Spain: native of, 10.
- Jesuits: attitude of former, 68; arrested in Mex., 94; expulsion, 151-2, 488; Fischer becomes, 356.
- Jesús, Clemente de (abp. of Michoacán): signs mem'l, 337.
- Jewitt, Col. D.: takes possession of Falklands for Eng., 472, 482; letter by, 472.
- Jiménez Rueda, Julio: book reviewed, 378-9.
- Jinoves, Joan Bautista (shipmaster): rescues Maese Joan, 374.
- Joan, Maese: narrative by, 368-76.
- João VI. (king of Port.): his son, 173 n.
- John, Rev. Lord (abp. of Cosenza): letter by, 362-3.
- John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation: program, 527-8.
- Johnson, Esther C.: rept. by, 516-20.
- Jones, Mr. ———: declines miss'n to S. A., 38.
- Jones, C. K.: reviews books, 220-2, 236-7, 511-12; aid given by, 254; section editor, 255; member of committees, 255; bibliogr. contribution, 390-409; rept. on Hisp. books, 545-50; cited, 526.
- José María (bp. of Oaxaca): signs mem'l, 337.
- Journal of Cont. Cong.*: cited, 273 n, 275 n, 276 n, 277 n, 278 n.
- Juan, Jorge: cited, 467-8, 468 n, 470 n, 469.
- Juárez, Benito (pres. of Mex.): decree approved, 322; satire on, 330; proposal to ratify laws of, 335-7; church desires his overthrow, 340; his idea gains victory, 344; still a factor in govt., 351; gathers strength, 356.
- Judges: Aztec, 210, Mex., corrupt, 343; *praesidis provinciae* superior to, 448; king, the highest, 449; eccles., 459; hold residencias, 464, 465; paid well for this work, 466; abuses by, 468; intendant acts as, 501; invokes *Partidas*, 538.
- Julian II.: grants patronage to Spain, 161.
- Julius II.: grants concession to Span. king, 155.
- Junta: com'l in Spain, 12.
- Jurists: Ital. and Fr., 539.
- Justinian: Alfonso X. compared to, 534; cited, 537, 539, 543.
- KAROLINA**: Yucatan (*q. v.*) called, 362.
- Kendrick, ———: at Juan Fernando, 497.
- Keniston, H.: cited, 526.
- Kent, Eng.: Amer. colonists compared to people of, 311.
- Kent, James: cited, 541 n.
- Keppel, George (earl of Albemarle): commands Brit. land forces, 303 n.

- Ker v Couden: cited, 538 n.
- Kersaint, Adm. Armand Gui Simon, Comte de: policy toward Span. colonies, 69-70; heads Fr. emissaries, 83.
- Kindelan, Sebastián (gov. of E. Fla.): succeeds Estrada, 440; takes office, 441; negotiations by, 440; breaks off negotiations, 441; threatens Mitchell, 441; gains aid of Ind., 441; Mitchell negotiates with, 442; Pinckney's relations with, 443; pub. proclamation of amnesty, 443; at Fernandina, 443; letters to and by, cited, 440 n, 441 n, 442 n, 443 n.
- Kingsley, Zephaniah: Florida planter, 429 n; testimony, cited, 427 n, 429 n, 437 n, 438 n, 441 n, 442 n, 444 n.
- Kippax, John: translator, 29 n.
- Knight, Melvin M.: book reviewed, 228-30.
- L**ABASTIDA y Davilas, Pelagio Antonio de (abp. of Mex.): acts as regent, 323; protests issuance of edict, 324; attitude toward Maximilian, 327; invited to conference, 336, 336 n; promises to aid Maximilian, 337; rules Meglia, 345; receives cross from Maximilian, 352.
- Labor Conditions: corregidor can legislate for, 460.
- Laborra, Pedro: cook for Bucarely, 87.
- Labrador: U. S. has fishing rights in, 483.
- Lafarga, Pedro: brings speech of Lafayette, 89; associate of Malvert, 90 n.
- Lafayette, Gen. Yves Gilbert Motier, Marquis d': his address discussed in Mex., 64; a rev'nary speech, 89.
- Lafaritten. *See* Florida.
- Laguardia, C. G. B.: book noticed, 412.
- Laguna, Yucatan: U. S. blockades, 135; abolition of blockade desired, 137; smuggling at, 136.
- Lakes: in New World, 179; Mex. on, 200; salt, 206; in Mex., 211.
- Lamar, L. Q. C.: speech, cited, 524.
- Landgrants: Clark petitions Spain for, 75 n; by Buenos Aires govt., 472.
- Lands: treaty provisions rdg., 300, 301; regulation rdg. eccles., 347-9; expropriated in Mex., 352 n; titles to in W. Fla. to be guaranteed, 421; promised to rev'nists, 425, 429; deeded in Falklands, 472; royal order rdg., suspended, 500.
- Lanuza, Juan: executed, 530.
- Laotom (Athan): Ind. village, location, 201, 201 n.
- La Plata, S. A.: recognition advised, 54; vicerealty created in, 151; patronage in, 156 n; constitution (1819), 156 n; attitude of diocese toward papacy, 164.
- Lardo, Luis: associate of Malvert, 90 n.
- Lares, ———: invited to conference, 336; attitude toward Maximilian, 337.
- La Roncière, Charles de: cited, 286 n, 287 n.
- Larrazabal, Simon de: letters and rept., cited, 26 n, 27, 27 n, 28.
- Las Casas, Bartolome de: upholds moral equality of races, 145; his ideas not lost, 146; letter to and by, cited, 84 n, 86 n.
- La Salle, Robert Cavelier de: attempt to colonize unauthorized, 15.
- La Serna, Pedro Gómez de: cited, 531 n, 532, 532 n, 534, 535 n.
- La Serrana. *See* Islands: Serrana Keys.
- Las Veras. *See* Higuera.
- Laudonnière, René Goulaine de: cited, 287 n.
- Laurens, Henry: criticises plans for western exped., 271; cited, 271, 271 n.
- Lausel (Locel), Juan (Revilla Gigedo's cook): tried for sedition, 87, 92; associate of Malvert, 90 n; a freemason, 92.
- Laval, Major Jacint: acting commander of U. S. forces, 428; ruins plans of rev'nists, 428; refuses assistance of troops, 428, 429; gives up supplies,

- 430; attitude toward Mathews, 433; writes López, 433.
- Lavalle, Juan (rev'nary leader in Buenos Aires): superseded, 479.
- Law: natural, brings liberty, 146; authority delegated by, 319; corregidor needs knowledge of, 453, 454; *Partidas* borrow from Roman, 535, 537-9; canon, in *Partidas*, 540; maritime, 540-1; native, 541-2; Span. change with *Partidas*, 542.
- Laws: neutrality, 33, 365 (*see also* Neutrality); rdg. mestizos, 147; early Mex., good, 200; Mex. clergy demand aid, 322; Maximilian needs revocation, 331; excesses in, provided for, 348.
- Lawsuits: of Fr. in Mex., 63; protests at ruling in, 455-6.
- Lawyers: lieut. assessors of intendants are, 501; intendants not, 502.
- Lazaro: Ind. chief baptized by name of, 187, 188.
- Lead: sent to Puerto Rico, 288 n.
- Leavenworth, ———: cited, 80-1.
- Leavitt, Sturgis E.: section editor, 255.
- Lebrun, Charles François: suggests Genêt mission, 71; letters to and by, 69, 77.
- Le Challeux, Nicholas: cited, 287 n.
- Lee, Arthur: Sayre associated with, 73; his relations with Gardoqui, 276.
- Lee, Charles: sends Gibson to New Orleans, 266; plans expd. to seize Pensacola, 270; letters by, 266-267, 267 n.
- Lefevre, Eugène: cited, 326 n, 333 n.
- Legislation: how colonial evolved, 153.
- Legón, Faustino J.: cited, 161 n, 163 n.
- Legros, Nicolas: works prohibited, 499.
- Lehmann-Nitche, R.: book reviewed, 232-5.
- Leinhet: made in Mex., 209.
- Leiton, Francisco: signs rept., 12 n.
- Lemec, Nicholas: accompanies Mézières, 87.
- Leo XII.: accession to papacy, 165; requested to issue encyclical, 165-6; Consalve advises, 165 n; subservient to Span. king, 167; changes his attitude, 167; interested in Mex. mission, 168; asks aid of France, 169; conference advises, 169; disregards rights of royal patronage, 169-70; preconizes bps., 169-70, 171; sends nuncio to Spain, 170; death (1829), 171; Consalve's statement to, cited, 157; letters by and to, cited, 163, 170.
- León, Spain: fueros of, 531 n.
- Leopards: in Mex., 207.
- Lerma, Spain: armed fleet in, 533 n.
- Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul: cited, 60 n.
- Letters-patent: authority delegated by, 319.
- Leturia, Pedro: cited, 156 n, 158 n, 159 n, 160 n, 161 n, 164 n.
- Levant: Span. trade in, 11.
- Levantine: in Span. trade, 288 n.
- Leyes: various Mex., 321.
- Leyes de Toro*: promulgated (1505), 537.
- Libraries: MSS. in, 37 n, 243-6, 292 n, 303 n; gifts to, 251-2; U. S. system of, adopted, 387; should be used, 389; Vernet owns, 473; Croix examines public, 499-500; Mex., 516; Amer., desired in Spain, 517-18. Various, named: Cong., 38 n, 61 n, 137 n, 243-6, 251-2, 255, 270 n, 278 n, 512, 516, 545-50; Old Imperial (Vienna), 182; Royal (Berlin), 183; Augsburg City, 183; Henry E. Huntington, 185, 292 n, 303 n; Brit. Museum, 185; John Carter Brown, 185; New York Public, 185, 517; Gorgas Mem'l, 249; Columbia Mem'l (Pan Amer. Union), 255, 388, 519, 546, 551; Newberry, 266 n, 267 n; Chilean National, 387; Mex. National, 516; Vatican, 516; Lincoln (Mex.), 517; Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), 543. *See also* Archives.
- Libro de las Leyes: early name for *Partidas*, 533.
- Licenses: for ships, 4; issued by Casa de contratación, 5; for reading, 62; bar-

- bers enter Mex., without, 88; Velásquez petitions, 177.
- Lille, France: Salamanca in, 13.
- Lima, Peru: a distributing center, 4; how goods shipped to, 4; has branch of casa de contratación, 4; cabildo asks Charles V. for univ. for, 107; early society, 108; eccles. control of ed'n in, 108; bullfights held in, 110; medical college founded in, 111; mestizos pub. pamphlet at, 147; San Martín captures, 156; Croix enters, 491; he pub. proclamation in, 491; bridge built for traffic of, 494; conflagration in, 494; sites assigned as cemeteries for, 494; patrolled at night, 494; public improvements in, 495; barracks built in, 496; Hurtado brought to, 497; consulado in, 498; college, in 500; Croix poorest man in, 503.
- Limestone: idols made of, 197.
- Lincoln, Gen. Benjamin: cong. instructs, 278; activities with Span., 278-9; letters by and to, cited, 278 n, 279, 279 n.
- Liquet, ———: works pub., 499.
- Lions: in Mex., 196, 207; in Florida, 202.
- Lira, Manuel de (secretario de despacho): makes private rept. to king, 13.
- Lisbon (Lysebona), Portugal: a trade center, 12; importance increases, 2; merchant in, 12; Flemish in, 12; spices brought to, 212.
- Litigants: royal order does not consider, 500.
- Liverpool, Eng.: merchants of, protest cession of Havana, 310 n.
- Livingston, Edward (sec'y of state): issues instructions to Baylies, 477; cited, 478.
- Lizards: in Mex., 207.
- Lloyd, ——— (Brit. sea captain): sent to New Orleans, 269 n.
- Loans: consulado makes, 5; U. S. guarantees, 35; agreement to make to rev'nary govt., 35; Yucatan requests, 139; Floridas pledged for, 276; corregidores make, to gamblers, 467.
- Lobingier, Judge Charles Sumner: article by, 529-44.
- Locke, John: on index, 63.
- Lockey, J. B.: cited, 37 n.
- Locusts: corregidores compared to, 466.
- Logan, Benjamin: attitude toward Span colonies, 72.
- London, Eng.: trade organization in, 1; importance increases, 2; Span. agt. in, 11; Miranda in, 72 n; Amer. banker in, 73; Peñalosa and Vergara arrive in, 159; Tejada in, 160; Vázquez in, 172; news of capture of Havana reach, 303; celebrates victory, 304 n, common council, 305; merchants, 307.
- Londonderry, Lord ———: cited, 66 n.
- Long, James: at Nacogdoches, 416.
- Longfellow, Henry W.: influence, 545.
- López, Justo (Span. commandant): at Ferdinandina): sends com'rs, 428 n, 432; rept. made to, 429 n; his garrison, 430; invited to join rev'nists, 431; imprisoned 436 n; sends message to U. S. gunboats, 434-5; signs capitulation, 435; letters to and by, cited, 427 n, 431, 432 n, 433, 433 n, 435 n, 437 n; rept. to, cited, 430 n, 432 n; rept. by, cited, 428.
- López, Gen. Narciso: his exped. disastrous, 365; not supported, 367.
- López Pereyra, Manuel: presents plan for trading co., 7-11.
- Los Angeles, Calif.: translations made in, 181.
- Los Corregidores de México*: cited, 446 n.
- Lostaunon, Capt. Juan: patrols Lima, 494.
- Louis XVI.: depicted on playing cards, 64; Span. attitude toward, 67.
- Louisiana: location, 75, 265; key to Span. possessions, 73; strategic factor, 265; nationality of inhab., 71; French city in, 81. Ceded to Spain, 87, 265; Gálvez becomes gov., 268, 268 n, 489;

- instructions sent him to gov., 273-4; Gálvez not allowed leave, 490; *Partidas* basic common law in, 537. People affected to rev'n, 70-71; rev'nary plans on borders, 70-82; Fr. plan to acquire, 71, 82; affected to Fr., 71; Fr. consider republic in, 71 n, 80; Imlay recommends liberation, 73; rev'nists propose to attack, 75; Genêt's part in rev'n in, 75; Clark willing to capture, 76; Fr. propaganda spread from, 79-80; difficult for Span. to hold, 80; liberation will set a good example, 81; Clark has agts. in, 81; endangered, 82; Anglo-Amer. in, 82; Fr. in, 87; they go from, to Mex., 88; *id.* to provincias internas, 95; Gálvez plans defense of, 270; Brit. invasion feared, 272; war preparation in, 273; Eng. to be driven from, 274; Span. troops raised in, 274; Brit. threaten, 280, 281; U. S. com. in, impaired, 425; firearms sold to Ind. in, 490.
- Louisiana Repts.: cited, 538.
- Love, Miss Cornelia S.: compiles bulletin, 520.
- Low Countries: some of inhab. loyal, 10; Fonseca in, 16; cost of troops in, high, 17; trading co. for, requested, 17; proposal to transport soldiers free from, 18.
- Lower Bluff, E. Fla.: location, 430; rev'nary army at, 430; Mathews at, 433.
- Lowery, Woodbury: cited, 287 n.
- Loxa, Ecuador: repartimiento in, 468.
- Loyalists: Brit., defeated in Fla., 444.
- Lumber: trade in, 423, 444; Brit. vessels load, 430.
- Lumbering: important in E. Fla., 417; along St. Johns, 418.
- Lutherans: Span. attitude toward, 18; converted to Cath., 356.
- Luye, Vicente: associate of Malvert, 90 n.
- Luzerne, Anne César de la: indorses Amer. exped., 277; plan proposed by, 277 n; letter to, cited, 278 n.
- Luzero, ———: letter, cited, 64 n; rept. cited, 90 n, 91 n, 92 n.
- Lynch, Capt. ——— (naval officer): action discourteous, 486.
- Lyonnet, Pierre: in rev'nary com'n, 73; cited, 74 n, 75 n.
- Lysebona. *See* Lisbon.
- Lyser, Miss Alice I.: book reviewed, 220-2.
- Lyttleton, ——— (gov. of Jamaica): congratulates Pocock, 315; asks aid, 315; cited, 315, 315 n.
- M**ABLY, Gabriel Bonnot: book on index, 63.
- Macanaz, ———: advice of, 148.
- Maçehuales*: *Mittelmas* identified as, 208 n.
- Machiavelli, Niccolò di Bernardo: works on index, 499.
- Machocobon, Mex.: Span. in, 187 n.
- McIntosh, John H.: deserves detailed notice, 416; plans checked, 428-9; director of revol'nary govt., 429, 435, 442; sketch, 426; cited, 427 n, 431, 431 n.
- McIntosh, Lachlan: letter to, cited, 271 n.
- McKee, Col. John: appmt., 421; relinquishes office to Claiborne, 422.
- McMasters, J. B.: cited, 423 n, 426 n.
- Madison, James: Fla. policy not creditable, 416; repudiates Mathews, 419, 438-9; approves Claiborne's action, 419; approves cong'l resolution, 420; Folch ignores letter to, 422; Mathews repts. actions to, 426; keeps troops in E. Fla., 442; instructions by, 33 n; letters to and by, cited, 35 n, 39, 44, 419, 420 n, 439 n.
- Madozama. *See* Montezuma.
- Madrid, Span.: nuncio in, 170; expelled from, 157; archives in, 246; Lee's letter sent to, 267; Amer. agts. sent to, 275 n; treaty made in (1670), 300; Croix dies in, 503.
- Maese Joan: shipwrecked, 371. *See* Joan, Maese.

- Magellan (Wagelanus), Ferdinand: exped. and death, 212.
- Magic: Ind. practice, 201-2.
- Magnesa. *See* Maguey.
- Maguey (magnesa): beverage made from, 209.
- Maguire, Dr. Constantine: promises aid on hist. series, 259.
- Maitland, Sir Richard: cited, 534 n.
- Maize: Ind. give to Cortés, 192; Ind. possess, 195; used as food, 197.
- Malacca (Malacho): discovery and description, 212.
- Malay Peninsula: com'l ventures in, 2.
- Maluco. *See* Islands.
- Malloy, William M.: cited, 483 n.
- Malvert, Juan: partisan of Fr. Ass'y, 89; described, 90.
- Mancera, Marquis de (viceroys of Mex.): app. com'n, 13; rept., cited, 13.
- Manchak, La.: Span. commander, 272; Anglo-Amer. plan exped. to, 266; Span. capture, 280.
- Mangourit, Michel Ange Bernarde de: (Fr. consul in Charleston): aids Genêt, 78; correspondence, cited, 78 n.
- Manifestoes: Fr. urged to distribute, 72.
- Manila, P. I.: a trade center, 9.
- Manning, William R.: cited, 32 n, 33 n, 35 n, 42 n, 43 n, 51 n, 52 n, 53 n, 56 n, 66 n.
- Manrique de Lara, Juana: completes bibliography, 516.
- Mante, Thomas: ass't engr., 306 n; cited, 306 n.
- Mantetunia. *See* Montezuma.
- Manufacturers: can participate in trading co., 20.
- Manufactures: of rum, 28; lacking in Spain, 29.
- Manufacturing: com. asked to consider, 11.
- Manuscripts: in various archives and lib'ys, 243-6, 278 n, 286 n, 291 n, 292 n, 293 n, 294 n, 295 n, 296 n, 297 n, 298 n, 299 n, 300 n, 301 n; cited, 303 n, 308 n.
- Manzano, Tomás (Span. ship capt.): brings rept., 282.
- Maps: Olaete seeks, 84; Coste has, 84; "Turin," cited, 201 n; Gálvez needs, 281.
- Maracaibo, Ven.: ships burned at, 297.
- Marchant, Henry: member of com'n, 277 n; rept. cited, 277 n, 278.
- Marescotli Palace: pope visits, 325.
- Marien, Cuba: ship of Cortés in, 178.
- Marina, F. M.: cited, 531 n.
- Markets: in Mex., 200, 204, 206, 208, 208 n, 209; corregidor inspects, 462.
- Markham, Clemente: cited, 369.
- Marmontelo, Belisario: works prohibited, 499.
- Marquéz, Gen. ———: sent from Mex., 345.
- Marriage: among Aztecs, 210; of B. de Gálvez, 268 n; civil contract, 321 n; clergy hostile to civil, 322; proposals rdg., 333; depends on king, 454; children must gain consent for, 500; laws rdg., 540.
- Martín, Benito (chaplain of Velásquez): sent to Spain, 177; active against Cortés, 180; his influence, 181.
- Martin, Franklin: notice, 249-50.
- Martin, Percy Alvin: section editor, 255; translator and editor, 258.
- Martín, Thomas P.: article, 243-6.
- Martínez Zuviría, Gustavo (Argentinian novelist): his pseudonym, 116; prizes awarded to, 116-17; member of Span. Royal Acad., 117; his heroines, 118-19; novels analysed, 118-26.
- Martyr, Peter. *See* Anghiera, Pietro Martirio d'.
- Mason, Lieut. M. (commander of U. S. ship): writes sec'y of war, 140.
- Mason, John Young (sec'y of war): letter to, 140 n.
- Massachusetts: colonial gov., 311; legislative houses, 312.
- Mastai, Conti: becomes Pius IX., 162; accompanies Muzi, 163.

- Mathews, Gen. George** (former gov. of Ga.): native of Ireland, 421 n; deserves detailed notice, 416; Claiborne compared to, 419; app. com'r, 421; com'r to act rdg. E. Fla., 422; relinquishes office to Claiborne, 422; at St. Marys, 422-3; authorized to use U. S. forces, 422; desires capture of E. Fla., 424; his activities along border, 424-5; tries to foment rev'n, 425; repts. activities to Madison, 426; associates himself with McIntosh, 426; claims to act for U. S., 427, 427 n; his plans checked, 428-9; begins rev'n, 429; attempts to enlist U. S. soldiers, 429; negotiations with Campbell, 430; López sends com'rs to, 432; his headquarters, 433; Laval's attitude toward, 433; at Lower Bluff, 433; his authority requested, 434 n; at Fernandina, 436; asks aid of Campbell, 436-7; agrees to articles of capitulation, 436 n; accompanies "patriot" army, 437; Madison repudiates, 438-9, 439 n; Mitchell supersedes, 439; his actions irregular, 439; his invasion premature, 439; his instructions, 445; death, 439; characterized, 421 n; letters to and by, cited, 422 n, 423, 430 n, 432, 439.
- Mathotzoma.** See Montezuma.
- Matrinso, ———** (Argentinian constitutionalist): cited, 152.
- Matthews, Shailer:** cited, 76 n.
- Maximilian Archduke** (emp. of Mex.): his eccles. policy, 317-60; reign in Mex. brief, 317; period one of struggle, 317; not in sympathy with reactionary projects, 323; persuaded to accept Mex. throne, 323; demands election by people, 324; accepts throne, 324; receives holy communion, 325; his theory of govt., 325; clericals oppose, 325-6; recognizes eccles. problem, 326; attitude of liberals toward, 327; complains of papacy, 328; nuncio presents papal letter to, 330; attitude toward nuncio, 332, 336; church hoped much from, 340; asked to suspend order to Escudero, 341; attitude of conservatives toward, 343; his reform plan, 343; criticises clergy, 343; measures taken by, 344; decrees issued by, 347-9, 352 n; hopes to bring peace, 349; refuses to recede, 350; his critical position, 351, 356; gives grand cross to abp., 352; issues ed'nal instructions, 353; interested in native peoples, 354; address by, 355-6, 357; his personal representative, 356; sends Fischer to Rome, 356-7; abandons liberal cause, 357; executed, 359-60; characterized, 345; a good Cath., 352; letters, etc., cited, 326-7, 328, 334-5, 343, 345, 350, 352 n, 358 n, 359 n.
- Maza, Juan Agustín:** negotiations with, 482; protests actions of Duncan, 484; letter, cited, 484.
- Maza Arredondo, José de la:** cited, 428 n, 430 n, 433 n, 434 n.
- Mazo, Carlos del:** associate of Malvert, 90 n.
- Means, Philip Ainsworth:** reviews books, 232-5; section editor, 255.
- Meat:** corregidor inspects, 462; Argentina supplies, 522.
- Mecham, J. Lloyd:** notice, 131; thanked, 446 n; article, 155-75; section editor, 255; cited, 155 n.
- Medina, José Toribio:** cited, 61 n, 62 n, 63 n.
- Meglia, Monsignore** (abp. of Damascus): app. nuncio to Mex. and acts as such, 328, 331 n; abp. in partibus, 328 n; pope instructs, 331; reaches Mex., 328, 329, 334-5; attitude toward Maximilian, 327, 332; presents papal letter to him, 330; causes trouble, 335, 344; Charlotte interviews, 336; little hoped for, 337; much hoped from, 340; acts highhandedly, 344; presents unseemly notes, 344; his conduct deplorable, 345; issues no conciliatory meas-

- ures, 347; says high mass, 352; characterized, 328, 335, 336, 345, 351; writes Escudero, 333.
- Meluco. *See* Islands: Moluccas.
- Memorials: sent to pope, 159; *re* capture of Havana, 310; by Mex. prelates, 337, 338-43.
- Memorias de los vireyes . . . Perú*: cited, 492 n, 493 n, 494 n, 495 n, 496 n, 497 n, 498 n, 499 n, 500 n, 503 n.
- Mendez, Juan (ship capt.): gives info., 85.
- Mendez, Santiago (Yucatec official): leads faction, 133; elected gov., 133, 136; joins Campeche opposition, 135; sends agt. to U. S., 137; intentions of his faction, 138; tries to collect taxes from Ind., 138; superseded by Barbachano, 141.
- Menéndez, Carlos B.: cited, 139 n.
- Merchandise: foreigners supply, 8; surplus causes low prices, 9; storehouses for, 18; in cargo, 21; contraband, seized, 26; officials open, 26-7; sequestered, 27; Span. unsold, 28; corregidores deal in, 466; sold to Ind., 468. *See also* Commerce.
- Merchants: privileges granted to foreign, 2; govt. aids, 3; incorporate, 3; form guild, 5; disadvantages, 9; of Antwerp, consulted, 12; Flemish, in Lisbon, 12; they present petition, 15; advice of those in Seville sought, 16; buccaneers have status of, 287; effect of, victory on, 307, 315; protest session of Havana, 310 n; of Jamaica, write to Pocock, 315 n; consulado in Lima, 498.
- Mercury (quicksilver): where obtained, 495-6.
- Mereghal, Servain: book on index, 63.
- Mérida, Yucatan: capital of Yucatan, 135; Barbachano ousted from, 136.
- Messages: of pres., 140-1, 419.
- Messages from the Gov.*: cited, 313 n.
- Mestizos: special permit for, 495.
- Metals and Minerals: in cargo, 9; lacking in Honduras, 27; in Yucatan, 176, 198; in Vera Cruz, 176; in Mex., 196, 199, 200, 207, 209; in Guanacavélica, 495-6; in Panama, 202; barter and sale, 177, 209; gifts, 177, 179, 195, 196, 200, 363; Cortés desires, 177; seized from his agts., 180; ornaments, 187, 467, 523; idols made from, 197; coins, 200; in Mex. temple, 207; crown deprived of imposts on, 467; how extracted, 495. Various—copper, 200; gold, 9, 27, 176, 177, 179, 180, 187, 195, 196, 198, 199, 200, 202, 207, 209, 363, 495; lead, 288 n; limestone, 197; mercury (quicksilver), 495-6; silver, 9, 27, 177, 196, 200, 209, 211-12, 467, 495, 523.
- Methodists: pope fears, 157, 165 n.
- Mexanes, ———: charges against, 92.
- Mexicans: Fr. ideas invade, 65; defeated in Yucatan, 134; aid Yucatan, 142; clericals, party of opposition, 324; pope solicitous for, 326; Cath., 340; Maximilian's policy toward, 353; future blend, 354; oath taken by, 357; join A. L. A., 516. *See also* Mexicans.
- Mexico (country usually): names (Colue, Culua), 205; location and description, 205, 205 n; climate, 211; Havana key to, 308; Cortés discovers, 205; Cortés in, 176-212, 361-4; many inhab. poorly educated, 65; foreigners in, 63-4, 87-98, 323; classes in, criticised, 343; status, 344. Inns in, 64; an economic unity with Cent. Amer., 151; compared to Spain, 196; wealth, 196-7; abounds in gold, 207; interest on debt suspended, 322; situation critical, 346; improves, 347; street paving in, 462. Govt. and political—viceroy, 284; importance of corregidor in, 446; intendants, 88-9; Provincias internas, 95; instructions to gov., 273-4; congr., 321 n, 322; constitution, 342; secession spirit in, 142; plan of Iguala, 320; monarchical move-

ment, 322-3; envoys, 326; govt. compared to that of France, 329; liberals, 325, 327, 344, 350; conservatives, 153, 344-5, 350; free and democratic, 356; edicts and decrees, 62, 347; political advance, 351; judiciary criticised, 343; special courts suppressed, 321 n. Revolution in—Fr. rev'n and, 60-98; sealed against rev'n'y ideas, 64; ideas filter into, 64; La. may become example for, 71, 81; included in rev'n'y plans, 74; rev'n in, 82-7; Folney sent to, 82; other rev'nists on way to and in, 88; rev'n'y materials brought to, 89; Guerrero plans revolt in, 91; rev'n'y doctrines threaten, 92; Branciforte protects, 96; Durrey wishes to return to, 97-8; Fr. rev'n leaves stamp on, 98; rev'n'y ills in, 331; Mina's revolt in, 415; rev'n'y movement, 416. Brit. consider liberation of, 66. Its treatment of Yucatan, 132; Yucatan united with, 132, 134, 143; introduces tax into, 132; revolt started in, 132 n; Yucatan fears invasion from, 133; violates treaty with, 134; makes no provision for, in treaty, 138; war with U. S. threatened and waged, 134, 135; U. S. prohibits Yucatan to trade with, 135; treaty betw., and U. S., 138, 142; no ships to be sent to, 180; effect of U. S. civil war on, 322; peace to be establ., 337; U. S. acquires terr. from, 538. Relations with French—60-98; France to aid, 69; French aims in, 74; French cooks in, 87; treatment of French in, protested, 96-7; French occupy, 323; attitude toward French forces, 356. Education, religion, etc.—Aztec priests depicted on wood cut, 183; worship idols, 207; modern ideas enter, 61; modern books read in, 61; abp. praises inquisition in, 92; eccles. control of ed'n, 108, ed'l tendencies, 112; ministry of pub. ed'n, 127; recent books in, 127; a suppliant at vatican,

165; church desires to app. bps. in, 165 n; sends miss'n to Rome, 168; instructions to Vázquez, 172; Vázquez insults, 172 n; bps. preconized for, 174; has no prelate, 174 n; sees filled by papacy, 174 n; marriage in, 210; struggle betw. church and state, 317-60; a theocracy, 320; eccles. forces judge situation poorly, 321; tries to obtain independence from eccles. control, 321; church and state separated, 321; various laws touching eccles. affairs, 321, 321 n; cemeteries removed from eccles. control, 321 n; monastic orders not recognized in, 322 n, 330; clergy demand support of govt., 322; clericals support monarchy, 322-3; they are defeated, 323; rituals prescribed in, 325; clericals oppose Maximilian, 325-6; eccles. problems pressing, 326, 333; nuncio needed in, 326-7, 334; one app., 328; fear of state religion in, 329; liberty of conscience needed in, 329; project for concord at, 329, 337; not thoroughly Cath., 329; must be Cath., 337; is a Cath. country, 342; Ind. religion survives in, 329; Cath. needed in, 331; religious toleration proposed, 332; toleration of worship in, 347, 353, 355; state religion proposed, 332; has state religion, 334; reforms needed in, 333, 334, 350; opposed, 341; abp. signs mem'l, 337; eccles. situation critical, 344; religious questions settled, 351; Fischer ordered to return to, 357; eccles. struggle still continues, 360; Jesuits expelled from, 488. Archives in, 245 n; books on, catalogued, 252; bibliogr. measures in, 388-9; has college of mining, 495; librarians from visit U. S., 516; lib'y exchanges with, 517; fellowships in, 527; Haring studies this question, 528; books on, not to be bo't by Huntington fund, 548. Miscellaneous—mil. spirit eliminated in, 142; retreat from, not

- mentioned in early acct., 183; Span. troops raised in, 274; letters to, 344; Folch awaits card from, 419; Croix rewarded for services in, 491.
- Mexico City (Demischican, Gt. Venice, Tenustitan, Teuenitan): capital of country, 206; size and description, 183, 184, 200-1, 205, 206, 211; pop. of early, 205; supplied from Vera Cruz, 4; has branch of Casa de Contratación, 4; notice posted in, 65; private aid sent to Yucatan from, 142; Maximilian reaches, 325; Meglia reaches, 328, 329; Rome supersedes as seat of negotiation, 344; clergy waste time in, 344; eccles. synod called for, 357, 358; king app. corregidores for, 450; audiencia, 454, 455, 464; ruling protested in, 455; salary of corregidor in, 463. *See also* Mexicans; *and* Mexico (country).
- Meyer, Dr. H. B.: member of committees, 255.
- Mézières, Athanase: French accompany, 87, 95; in Span. service, 95 n.
- Michaux, ———: carries Genêt's letter to Clark, 76; Brown introduces, 78 n.
- Michoacán (Mex. prov. and state): abp. of, signs mem'l, 337.
- Miguel (son of João VI.): acts as regent, 173 n.
- Military Affairs: Poinsett discusses S. A., 53; Anglo-Amer. desire supplies from Spain, 266; militia formed in Span. colonies, 287, 313; U. S. militia, 442; special courts in Mex., suppressed, 321 n; ammunition, 136, 140, 267, 267 n, 288 n, 290, 490, 494; armies, 92, 267 n, 343, 429-30, 443; artillery and infantry, 283; barracks, 496, 498; garrisons, 71, 290, 293, 295, 438, 442, 443; soldiers, 17, 18, 139, 189, 204, 274, 277, 278, 280, 281, 282, 283, 291 n, 292, 292 n, 295, 304, 428, 428 n, 429, 430, 436, 489, 496, 498, 500, 501, 503; battles, 194, 444. *See also* Ships; Wars; *and* the various countries.
- Milk: corregidor inspects, 462.
- Miller, Mrs. Emily V. D.: coöperates with com., 517.
- Miller, William Kix: thanked, 529.
- Miller, William Marion: reviews book, 378-9.
- Millet [maize?]: Ind. use, 198, 200-1.
- Mina, Francisco Javier: leads Mex. revolt, 415.
- Miners: Fr. in Mex., 88.
- Mines: S. A. easy to capture, 76.
- Mining: tribunal establ., 495; important in Peru, 495; intendants fail to encourage, 502. *See also* Metals and Minerals.
- Minors: pay tribute, 467.
- Miralles, ———: (Span. official): instructions, 275; Navarro asks for info., 276; letters to and by, cited, 276, 276 n, 277, 279 n.
- Miramar Palace: Maximilian accepts crown in, 324.
- Miranda, Francisco (S. A. revolutionist): studies in Mex., 60; his proposal to Brit., 66, 70; turns to France, 67; his connection with Fr. rev'n, 67-70, 77; goes to France, 68; serves Fr. army, 68 n; Fr. plan to aid, 69; attitude toward Fr., 70; Genêt's plan supplants his, 71; Paine meets, 72 n, 73; his plans too elaborate, 74; influence, 69; letters to and by, cited, 60, 63, 68, 68 n, 70, 70 n; his diary pub. 379-81; archives to be pub., 551.
- Miró, Esteban: sent to Cuba, 284.
- Missionaries: home built for, 493.
- Missions (commissions): eccles., sent to Rome, 158-9; political, to Eng., 158-9.
- Mississippi Territory: U. S. may occupy lands of, 420.
- Mississippi Valley Historical Ass'n.: La., a factor in, 265; paper read before, 317 n.
- Missouri: supreme ct., 538.
- Mitchell, D. B. (gov. of Ga.): asked to take charge of U. S. forces in E. Fla., 439-40; his instructions, 439-40; at St.

- Marys, 440; complains of attack, 440-1; Kindelan negotiates with, 441, 442; letters to and by, cited, 439, 440 n, 441 n, 442 n.
- Mitchell, Emily B.: work by, 244.
- Mitchell, William: affidavit, 478.
- Mizteca (Mizella) Mex.: Span. at, 201, 201 n.
- Mobile, Ala.: Anglo-Amer. plan capture, 266, 281; Navarro disapproves of attack, 282; capture necessary before that of Pensacola, 283; Navarro tries to make it main object of campaign, 283; substituted for Pensacola, 284; weak, 284; Gálvez plans to attack, 284.
- Mochoconos: name of Ind., 187.
- Mohammedans: their heresy exterminated, 203.
- Monasteries: Span. crown erects, 318; can be erected only with king's consent, 419.
- Monclova, Spain: council held at, 489, 490.
- Moncton, Robert (gov. of N. Y.): celebrates capture of Havana, 313; letter, cited, 313 n.
- Monks: Aztecs have, 208.
- Monopolies: trading, 3, 5, 6; risk of, 9. *See also* Commerce.
- Montalvo, Duke: his rept. cited, 19.
- Montañas de Burgos: proposal to transport soldiers from free, 18.
- Montejo, Francisco: agt. of Cortés in Spain, 177; money seized from, 180; gives info. of Cortés, 181.
- Monte Sacro, ———: signs papers, 24 n.
- Montesinos, Fernando: upholds moral equality, 145.
- Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat: read in Spain, 61; works prohibited, 499.
- Montevideo (Monte Video): com'rs at, 41; Port. hold, 45 n; Muzi pub. apostolic letter in, 164; Duncan at, 476, 479; colonists taken to, 476.
- Montezuma (Madozuma, Mantetunia, Mathotzoma): sends gifts to Cortés, 177; early acct. of, 183, 184; king of "Gt. Venice," 200; makes peace with Cortés, 201; receives Cortés, 206; has many palaces, 206-7; his power, 200, 206, 207; killed, 183, 201.
- Monroe, James: declines to send com'n to S. A., 31; on campaign trip, 32; various activities, 32-33; desires info. of rev'n, 34-5; helps determine foreign policy of U. S., 36; Graham repts to, 46; fears Rodney, 51, 52; Fla. policy discreditable, 416; instructs Mathews, 422, 445; warns Brit. not to encroach on Fla., 425; instructs Mitchell, 442; repudiates rev'nists, 444-5; letters by and to, cited, 31-2, 37 n, 38 n, 39, 40 n, 44, 422 n, 423, 424-5, 425 n, 439; writings, cited, 32, 32 n, 35 n, 36 n, 37, 38 n, 39 n, 420, 444.
- Monroe Doctrine: antedated, 54; Yucatan not under, 141; U. S. upholds, 365; Argentina invokes, 485; important to S. A., 522; S. A. suspicious of, 525; formulation, 546.
- Montor, Artaud de: cited, 157, 157 n, 165 n.
- Moore, E. H. (Texan commodore): commands Texan vessels, 133; activities, 133-4.
- Moore, John Bassett: cited, 419 n, 484 n, 486 n.
- Moors: Span. struggle with, 317.
- Moosa, Fla.: "patriots" at, 438 n.
- Moreau Lislet, ———: cited, 534 n.
- Morel, Estevan: owns Fr. books, 64; spreads rev'nary ideas, 64; statements by, 90; inquisition tries, 92.
- Morelos, José María: Maximilian gives address on, 355-6.
- Moreno de Malaga, ———: starved to death, 372.
- Morgan, George (U. S. commander at Pittsburgh): activities with Span.,

- 271; presents plan to cong., 271 n; letter by, cited, 271 n.
- Morions: sent to Puerto Rico, 288 n.
- Morro: fortification in Havana, 295.
- Mortgages: restrictions on, in Mex., 321 n.
- Mortmain: regulations rdg., 348.
- Moses, Bernard: cited, 492 n.
- Mosquito Coast: Brit. of, desire Yucatan, 138.
- Moultrie, William (Gov. of S. Ca.): supports Genêt's plan, 78 n.
- Mounier, A.: cited, 29 n.
- Mountains: in S. A., 48; in Mex., 196, 211.
- Mulattoes: not allowed to carry weapons, 495.
- Mules: arbitrarily assigned to Ind., 469.
- Müller, Frederick: pubs. by, 182.
- Munitions: convoy of, determined, 277; sent to various ports, 288 n; in cargo, 370.
- Munro, ———: cited, 543 n.
- Muñoz, Juan Bautista: MS. not copied by, 186; MSS., cited, 287 n, 290 n.
- Murga, Diego de (Marquis de Monte Sacro): described, 23-4; co. formed under, 23-9; involved in quarrel, 25.
- Music and Musicians: Fr. in Mex., 88; piano, 473.
- Mutilations: Ind. practice, 197.
- Muzi, John (nuncio in S. A.): app. vicar apostle to Chile, 162; his jurisdiction enlarged, 162; leaves Genoa, 163; mission, a failure, 163; his sec'y, 163; sells bulls and relics, 163; attitude toward, 163; mission significant, 164-5; requests passports, 164; leaves Valparaiso, 164; treatment of, by Chile, disgraceful, 164 n.
- N**ACOGDOCHES, Texas: Long at, 416.
- Nagera, Spain: Cortes held at, 530.
- Nails: Maese Joan makes, 373.
- Naples, Italy: com'l inquiry in, 12.
- Napoleon I.: invades Spain (1808), 31; tries to bait U. S., 77; establ. univ., 112; attitude toward state religion, 329; regenerates France, 330; has bishops appointed, 345; Alfonso X. compared to, 534; cited, 335.
- Napoleon III.: not in sympathy with reactionary party, 323; selects prince for Mex., 323; realizes gravity of eccles. problem in Mex., 327; apptmt. by, 350; desires to withdraw troops from Mex., 356; Charlotte appeals to, 359; letters of Maximilian to, cited, 326-7, 328, 334-5, 345.
- Natchez, Miss.: Eng. policy rdg. region, 265; Span. capture, 280.
- Nationalism: how created in Span. Amer., 151.
- Naturalization: of French in Mex., 94.
- Nautecal. *See* Almería; *and* Nauthla.
- Nauthla (Nautecal): native name for Almería (*q. v.*), 178.
- Nava, Pedro de (gov. of provincias internas): info. given by, 87-8; his suggestion relative to French, 95; letter by, cited, 87 n, 95 n.
- Navarro, Diego José (Span. colonial official): plans to attack St. Augustine, 275; his plan rejected, 275; Lincoln to be instructed to confer with, 278; attitude toward Amer., 279; *id.* toward W. Fla. campaign, 280; *id.* toward B. de Gálvez, 281, 282, 283, 284; the latter's plans sent to, 281; calls conference, 282; a member of conference, 283 n; misquotes Gálvez's plans, 284; characterized, 281; sketch, 275 n. Instructions to, 275; letters by and to, cited, 268 n, 276, 281 n, 282, 282 n, 283 n, 284.
- Navas, Francisco Xavier de (Span. colonial officer): sent to Gálvez, 282; returns to Havana, 283; member of conference, 283 n; not found, 285.
- Navigation: casa de contratación regulates, 5; to Indies, forbidden to foreigners, 288.

- Negroes: expelled from Sto. Domingo, 84; must not be enslaved, 146; voted for campaign, 283; in E. Fla., 417; how employed there, 418; enlistment of, rumored, 430, 432, 442; imported into Peru, 493; recommended that be sent to Peru through Panama, 494. *See also* Slaves; and Slavetrade.
- Nelson, Dr. Ernesto: cited, 519-20.
- Nepomuceno Almonte, Gen. Juan: acts as regent, 323.
- Netherlands, Span.: trading co. for, requested, 16-17.
- Neutrality: Clay attacks, 35; violated, 36, 79, 80, 81, 137; U. S. must maintain, 40; U. S. maintains, 56; U. S. proclaims, 77; in Yucatan, 135; Spain orders, 266; Span. feign, 273; U. S. enforces, 365, 367.
- Neutrals: "patriot" army tolerates no, 437.
- New England: Connecticut true to, 312; celebrates Brit. victory, 313 n.
- New France: com. in, 2.
- New Granada: people of, loyal Cath., 159; authorizes negotiations with pope, 156 n; papal recognition of, 174; Tejada rec'd as chargé for, 174-5; opposes sending of papal nuncio, 175.
- New London, Conn.: celebrates capture of Havana, 312.
- New Mexico: Fr. plan to liberate, 71; Fr. in, 95.
- Newnan, Col. ——— (U. S. officer): leads militia against Ind., 442; aids Smith, 442-3.
- New Orleans, La.: books sent to Mex. through, 61; garrison in, composed of French, 71; Fr. agt. suggested for, 72; Lyonnet in, 73; rev'y exped. plans to capture, 74; U. S. desires dépôt at, 77-8; Spain refuses this, 425; Carondelet repts. on, 79; Amer. rev. felt in, 265; mil. plans in, 266; Pollock in, 267 n; Span. aid sent to, 267 n; new Span. gov. in, 268; B. de Gálvez popular in, 268 n; Lloyd sent to, 269 n; Willing sent to, 269 n; rumors in, 272; Brit. threaten, 272; fortified, 272; Gálvez expects to raise troops at, 281; Panis at, 281; Girón sent to, 283; Span. troops from, 284; Hist. Soc. meets at, 317 n; Clayton in, 367.
- Newport, Eng.; opinion of capture of Havana in, 311.
- New Spain: Cortés app. gov. gen. of, 180-1; Span. fleet for, 292-3, 298 n; fleet cannot get money in, 297; viceroy, 318; audiencia, 464; importance of Corregidor in, 446; intendancies planned for, 447; provincias internas of, 488. Roy. patronage irksome in, 320; state religion in, 320; did not originate struggle betw. church and state, 317. Cano in, 14 n; propagandists go to, 70; De Pauw in, 72 n; Clark willing to capture, 76; he has friends in, 76; Fr. settlers in, 80; Fr. dangerous to, 80; Fr. revolutionists in, 82; Fr. plot against, 84, 91; negroes advised to be sent to, 84; revolutionary ideas in, 90, 92; T. de Croix gains mil. experience in, 488-9. Trading center for, 8; storehouses in, 18; com. with fails, 21; dearth of literary characters in, 60. *See also* Maximilian; and Mexico.
- Newton, A. P.: cited, 299 n.
- Newton, Isaac: studied in univ., 152.
- Newspapers. *See* Periodicals and Newspapers.
- New York (city): com'rs sail from, 41; Folney at, 82; news of cession of Havana reach, 311 n; fort George at, 313; officials of, 313; assembly, 313; celebrates capture of Havana, 313, 313 n.
- New World: Columbus discovers, 204.
- Nicaragua: appts. nat'l bibliogr. committee, 519.
- Nichols, Roy F.: reviews book, 230-1.
- Niciaca, Mex.: conjectural identification, 205 n.

- Nielsen, Frederick: cited, 173 n.
 Nitrate: Chilean, 522.
 Nogales, Rafael de: book reviewed, 99-103.
 Nootka Sound: Span.-Eng. rivalry over, 65-7.
 Norfolk, Va.: ship clears from, 43; com'n sails from, 48.
 Northampton, Eng.: opinion rdg. capture of Havana, 311.
 North Carolina (province): legislature, 314; jubilant over capture of Havana, 314.
North Carolina Colonial Records: cited, 314 n.
 North Carolina Press: will publish hist. series, 260.
 Notaries: regulation governing, 458.
 Notes and Comment: in this review, 107-15, 241-50, 384-86, 516-28.
Novisima Recopilacion: cited, 533 n.
 Nueva Vizcaya: French in, 95.
 Nuncio: expelled from Spain, 157; mem'l forwarded through, 159; returns note to Zea, 159-60; requested for Chile, 161; has diplomatic character, 161; Muzi welcomed as, 163; at meeting in Paris, 169; at Madrid, 169; in Spain, 170, 182; needed in Mex., 326, 327, 334; kind needed, 343; app. for Mex., 328; reaches Mex., 328, 329, 334; presents papal letter to Mex., 330; Maximilian's attitude toward, 332; attitude toward Mex. reforms, 333; letter by, 362-3. *See also* Meglia.
 Nuns: how treated in Mex., 330; quarrel with intendants, 501.
 Nuttall, Mrs. Zelia: notice, 129.
- O**ARSMEN: in ship's crew, 291 n.
 Oaths: officials take, 451, 453, 491.
 Oaxaca, Mex.: viceroy instructs intendants of, 85; without prelates, 174 n; bishop of, signs mem'l, 337.
- Oceans and Seas: com'l ventures on, 2; French operation on, 15; bucaniers driven from, 301; position of Havana to Caribbean area, 308; castaways in, 368-76; islands in, 368. Named—Atlantic, 4, 5, 31, 67, 311, 484; Baltic, 361; Caribbean, 15, 286-302, 308, 368-76; Indian, 2; Irish, 311; Mediterranean, 303, 541; Pacific, 38, 48, 67; South Atlantic, 471; South Sea, 497; White, 2.
 O'Donoju, Juan: makes treaty with Iturbide, 156.
 O'Fallon, Dr. James: attitude toward Span. colonies, 72; letter, intercepted, 75.
 Offices: sold, 455; absence from, 463-4.
 Officials: in consulado, 5; duties of com'l, 25-6; spied on, 26; quarrels of, 26, 455-6; buy positions, 150; ancient and modern compared, 150-1; attitude of Span., toward Fr. Rev'n, 70; opinions of Span., 71-2; Span., ordered to assist Olaete, 85; in Mex., ordered to arrest Fr., 93-4; Fr. in Mex., 94; Span., ordered to be neutral, 266; attitude to Span., toward Eng., 268; *id.*, toward Anglo-Amer., 270; Span. mil., 272; orders to Span., 319; residencia of, 464, 465; frontier, 489; removed from office, 497; Croix's attitude toward, 497.
 O'Higgins, Brig. Ambrosio: app. intendant of Concepción, Chile, 492.
 O'Higgins, Bernardo (dictator in Chile): sends official delegation to Rome, 160-61; instructs Cienfuegos, 161; ousted from power, 163 n; sends info. to Croix, 499; letter to, cited, 163-4.
 Oil (olive): as article of trade, 21, 27; used as food, 462.
 Olaete, Capt. Ignacio: sent on secret miss'n, 84-5; begins his work, 85; recalled to Vera Cruz, 86.

- Olavide y Jáuregui, Pablo Antonio José de (Peruvian): presents ed'l project, 152.
- Olaya, Dr. ———: address by, cited, 545.
- Olerón, Rules of: basis of Eng. maritime law, 544 n.
- Oligarchies: idea of independence in, 150.
- Ollaqui, Juan de: in France, 288 n.
- Onís, Luis de (Span. agt. in U. S.): Foster writes, 424-5; sends amnesty to Monroe, 443.
- Onslow, ———: (capt. in Brit. navy): takes possession of Falklands, 484.
- Ordaz, Diego de (agt. for Cortés): activities, 184, 185.
- Order, Teutonic: Croix commander of, 488.
- Orders: Campbell recalls, 434 n.
- Orders, Religious: teach all classes, 147-8; proscribed in Mex., 330; proposals rdg., 332; constitution of, must be kept, 499.
- Ordinamiento de las Tafuerías*: cited, 534.
- Ordinance of St. Louis: completed, 542.
- Ordinances: corregidor can pass, 459; publicly announced, 460; approved by council, 460; how they become effective, 460-1; copies sent to tribunals, 491.
- O'Reilly, Alexander: his nickname, 71; establ. Span. authority in La., 71; retains Mézierès, 95 n; pub. extract of Span. code, 537.
- Ormaechea, Juan Bautista de (bishop of Tulancingo): acts as regent, 323.
- Ornaments: gold, found among Ind., 176, 187; in barter, 177, 189; sent to Spain, 177, 179; Ind. wear body, 197, 200; feather, 208, 363; sold in Mex., 209; crown deprived of impost on, 467.
- Orne, Capt. W. B.: at Falklands, 472.
- Orphanage: Croix founds, 503.
- Orphans: Aztecs kind to, 208; special attention given to, 458.
- Outlaws: in E. Fla., 417. *See also* Buccaneers.
- Overseers: in Mex., 210.
- PAINE**, Thomas: has controversy with Burke, 61; his book prohibited, 61; has Eng. disciples, 72; lives in France, 72; maligned, 72; attitude toward Span. colonies, 72; meets Miranda, 72 n; O'Fallon writes, 75; writes him, 75.
- Painting: in Mex. temples, 207.
- Palaces: in Mex. city, 206.
- Palma, Ricardo: cited, 470 n.
- Palomeque, Albert: cited, 34 n, 35 n, 53 n, 57, 57 n.
- Pamphleteer (The)*: cited, 54 n.
- Panama: galleons go to isthmus, 4; how goods shipped across, 4; youth of, attend San Marcos Univ., 109; lib'y at, 249; conference at, 257; Eng. defeated at, 293; fleet assembles at, 293; trade route via, better for Peru, 493-4; Peru furnishes subsidy for, 496-7; amt. sent to, 497.
- Pan American Scientific Congress (second): resolution of, 387.
- Pan American Union: bibliogr. duty assigned to, 251; resolutions adopted by, 387-8; drafts agenda, 388; committee advises, 518; its lib'y, 546; repts. on bibliogr. conference, 551.
- Pan Americanism: criticised, 389.
- Pandects*: cited, 537.
- Panis, Jacinto: rept. cited, 281.
- Pánuco, Mex.: rev'n'y expd. planned against, 74.
- Papacy: double character, 154; S. A. problems face, 154; relations to S. A. independence, 155-75; espouses ultramontane theory, 155; Span. Amer. rebels approach, 155; attitude toward Span. Amer., 156, 157-8, 347; Bolívar considers agreement with, 158; Santander empowered to enter into negotiations with, 160; its policy changes,

- 160, 168; temporary *modus vivendi* betw., and Chile, 160-5; attitude toward, in S. A., 164; Colombia petitions, 167; attitude toward Spain, 172-3; does not recognize national patronage, 174; extends control over Iberian Peninsula, 317; recognizes supremacy of Cath. kings, 317-18; bulls of, conceded privileges, 318; Pius IX. issues bulls, 325; Maximilian's attitude toward, 327, 328; he opens negotiations with, 333; has not considered reforms, 333; concordat with, desired, 335; breaks promise, 337; not accurately informed, 344; mission sent to 344; docs. from, forbidden in Mex., 344; mission to, fails, 356; Span. canonists with, 540. *See also* Papal States; Popes; the various popes mentioned; and Rome.
- Papal States: Tejada ordered to leave, 168.
- Papel Segundo*: cited, 20 n.
- Paper: in cargo, 21.
- "Papers relative to . . . question . . . of the Malvinas Island": cited, 475 n.
- Parades: celebrate capture of Havana, 312.
- Paredes, (Mex. dictator): negotiates with Yucatan, 134.
- Pariam (Paria): name for Terra Firma, 204.
- Paris, France: appeals to Spain, 60; Smith comes from, 77; papal nuncio at, 159; papal committee meets in, 169; Vázquez in, 172; Havana compared to, 308; letter written to, 344; Amer. Lib'y in, 518.
- Parish, Woodbine (Brit. chargé): protests against Buenos Aires decree, 482.
- Parishes: in Peru, unoccupied, 502.
- Parks: many in Mex., 207.
- Parma*: defined, 187.
- Parra-Pérez, C.: cited, 67 n.
- Parrots: Ind. use feathers of, 198.
- Partidos*: Roman law a source for, 539. *See also* *Siete Partidas*.
- Partridges: sold in Mex. market, 208.
- Passengers: on ships, 25; provide own supplies, 43 n-44 n.
- Passports: Muzi requests, 164; Baylies requests, 484; he receives them, 487.
- Pastells, Pablo, S. J.: book reviewed, 512-13.
- Pat, Jacinto: chief of Mayas, 141.
- Patagonia: regulations governing coast, 474.
- Patents: buccaneers operate under, 301.
- Patten, Nathan van: rept. by, 516-20.
- Patronato Nacional: Bolívar hopes to secure for col., 158; Muzi refuses to acknowledge, 163. *See also* Real Patronato.
- Paullin, C. O.: promises aid in atlas, 259.
- Peace: status of, betw. Eng. and Spain, 291. *See also* Treaties.
- Pearls: sold in Mex. market, 209; as gift, 210.
- Peacocks: compared to chickens, 197; sold in Mex. market, 208.
- Pedro I. (of Brazil): his brother, 173 n.
- Pelagio, Antonio: signs mem'l, 337.
- Penafort, Raymundo de: at papal court, 540.
- Penalties: how inflicted, 210; Span. severe against foreigners, 288; a disqualification for office, 455; for asking apptmts., 455; corregidor subject to, 457, 466; for neglect of royal order, 457; for violation of laws, 480; for debt, 498. Named—excommunication, 61; execution, 79, 359-60; arrest and imprisonment, 83, 85, 87, 88, 91-2, 95-6, 366, 458, 459, 480, 498; exile, banishment, and expulsion, 96, 319, 350-1, 429, 455, 498; torture, 286; fines, 349, 455, 457, 468; confiscation, 429, 488, 495; loss of salary, 463; removal from office, 464.
- Penn, Sir William: Span. defeat, 298.
- Pensacola, Fla.: Clark proposes to capture, 76; Anglo-Amer. plan capture, 266, 267, 268 n, 270, 271, 272; cession

- to Spain, proposed, 267; Span. campaign against, 274, 279, 280, 281; Span. attack on, indorsed, 282; Anglo-Amer. offer aid to Spain, against, 275; Panis sent to, 281; Navarro not favorable to attack on, 282; depends on Mobile, 283; Mobile substituted for, 283-4; unsigned paper sent to, cited, 269 n.
- Peña y Reyes, Antonio de: cited, 164 n, 166 n, 167 n.
- Peñalver, Fernando: member of politico-religious mission, 158-9; arrives in London, 159; returns to Venezuela, 159; sends mem'l to pope, 159; error to commission, 160.
- Peon: Gaucho becomes, 119.
- Pereira Pinto, Francisco: member of junta, 12 n.
- Pereyrat, ———: contributes to revolutionary plan, 74.
- Periodicals and newspapers: few pub. in Span. Amer., 34; reports com'n's report, 49, 58; Buenos Aires interested in, 51; hostile to Muzi, 163; papal notice pub. in, 170; unbridled in Mex., 330-1. Various cited—*Advertiser* (London), 303 n, 305 n; *American Historical Rev.*, 66 n, 73 n, 74 n, 75 n, 77 n, 78 n, 79 n, 418 n; *Annals*, 33 n, 51 n, 58 n; *Annual Reg.*, 303 n, 305, 306 n, 307 n, 310 n; *Atlantic Mo.*, 310 n; *Augusta Chronicle*, 430 n; *Catholic Historical Rev.*, 412-13; *Chronicle* (London), 303 n, 304, 304 n, 307 n; *Congressional Globe*, 141 n; *El Mercurio Peruano*, 111, 153, 248; *Enquirer* (Richmond), 33 n; *Evening Post* (Boston), 312 n; *Gaceta de Madrid*, 166 n; *Gaceta (Gazeta) de Mexico*, 62, 62 n, 63, 63 n; *Gaceta Oficial* (Caracas), 551; *Gaceta Oficial* (Official Gazette, Mex.), 338; *Gazette* (Boston), 304 n, 311 n; *Gazette* (Buenos Aires), 45 n; *Gazette* (Franklin), 49 n; *Gentleman's Mag.*, 304 n, 307 n; *Harvard Law Rev.*, 538 n; *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, 34 n, 131, 263, 294 n, 386; *Hunt's Merchants' Mag. of Com.*, 472 n; *Inter-Amer.*, 519; *Journal des Debats*, 159; *Journal of Economics and Business Hist.*, 129, 384-5; *London Mag.*, 304 n; *Nat'l Intelligencer*, 33 n, 39 n, 47 n, 49 n, 417 n; *News Letter* (Boston), 304, 304 n, 305 n, 312 n, 313 n; *Niles' Reg.*, 33 n, 46, 142 n, 417 n, 428 n, 430 n, 434 n, 435 n, 436 n; *Official Gazette* (Philippines), 538 n; *Orchestra* (Mex.), 329-30; *Revista de Bibliografía Chilena y Extranjera*, 387; *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Históricos*, 128-9; *Quarterly of Texas State Hist. Ass'n*, 73 n; *Salem Gazette*, 472; *Scots Mag.*, 304 n; *Universal Mag.*, 304 n; *Yale Law Rev.*, 541 n.
- Perkins, Dexter: cited, 58 n.
- Permits: to bear arms, 495.
- Perry, Com.: cited, 137, 140 n; Menéndez writes, 141.
- Peru: has long seacoast, 496; Chile a dependency of, 492; Chiloé not subject to, 497. Cano in, 14 n; storehouses in, 18; has no ships in ten years, 21; illicit trade in, 27; shipments from cease, 27; prices, 27; fortune made in, 470; free trade establ. in, 493; trade enters by way of Buenos Aires, 493; Panama a good trade route for, 493-4; customs house in, 495. Revenues in, 493; from mining industry, 495; subsidies furnished by, 496; mining important in, 495; college of mining recommended for, 495; mining tribunal establ. in, 495. Govt.—viceroy, 60, 469-70; Croix apptd. viceroy, 491; viceroyalty of, most coveted post in Indies, 491; duties of viceroy, 496-7; Audencia, 491, 502; abuses of corregidor in, 466; gifts made to him, 470; Span. colon. admin. of, declining, 488; intendency establ. in, 491, 492, 500; intendants do not improve justice, in 502; mil. dept. does not need intendant, 503; reforms in,

- 491-2, 497-8; friar expelled from, 498; small convents suppressed, 499; eccles. docs. declared void in, 499; royal order damages, 500. Info. desirable on, 42; educ'l tendencies in, 112; defects in educ'n in, 113; educ'l reforms, 113-4; scientific research in, 113-4; civil wars in, 146; books on index kept out of, 499-500; riots in, 501; Croix leaves poor, 503; his services in, 504; appts. nat'l bibliogr. com., 519.
- Peruvians: will buy from Spain, 22.
- Pesquisidor (inquisition official): may not be app. corregidor, 458; friction betw., and corregidor, 458-9.
- Petion de Villeneuve, Jérôme (French gen'l): Miranda meets, 68; letter to, cited, 68 n.
- Petitions: presented by Flemish merchants, 15; by Yucatan, 140 n; Span. gov't. to pope, 156; Colombia to pope, 168; bishops, 344.
- Peynado, Francisco J. (Dominican agt.): negotiates treaty, 385.
- Peyron, ———: translates Chesterfield into Span., 62-3.
- Pezzuola, Marquis ———: app. gov. of Cuba, 366.
- Pheasants: sold in Mex. market, 208.
- Philadelphia, Pa.: Bland in, 49; Fr. plan to send agts. to, 73; Jacobin society in, 79; Span. agt. in, 86; letters rec'd from, 89.
- Philip (Felipe) II. (king of Spain): converts univ. of San Marcos into secular establ., 107; gives coat of arms to Havana, 303 n; able, 318; issues decrees, 318-9; orders execution, 530; death, 293.
- Philip IV. (king of Spain): app. com'l com'n, 11; diverts funds, 296.
- Philip V. (king of Spain): of moderate ability, 19; becomes king, 19; creates com'l junta, 20; holds shares of stocks, 24 n; brings French to Spain, 60.
- Philippine Company: its ship allowed to go to Callao, 493.
- Philippine Reports*: cited, 538, 538 n.
- Philo: cited, 544 n.
- Philosophy: taught in univ., 109.
- Physicians: French in La., 88.
- Piano: Vernet owns, 473.
- Pickett, A. J.: cited, 421 n.
- Picolata, Fla.: U. S. forces at, 438 n.
- Pierce, Franklin (pres. of U. S.): appmt. by, 364.
- Pierson, William W., Jr.: translator and editor, 258; compiles bulletin, 520; its preface, 522-27.
- Pigeons: in Mex., 196.
- Pike, Albert: cited, 544 n.
- Pikes: sent to Puerto Rico, 288 n.
- Pilots: Casa de contratación licenses, 5; ships must have, 497.
- Pinckney, Thomas: relations with Kinde-lan, 443; relieves Mitchell, 443; letter, cited, 443 n.
- Pineda, Alonso de: Ind. kill, 179.
- Pinochet, Tancredo: cited, 526.
- Piñero, Norberto: cited, 34 n.
- Piracy: charges of, 476, 478, 481, 482.
- Pirates: Span. attempts against unsuccessful, 15; buccaneers (*q. v.*) regarded as, 287, 301; Eng. called, 297; charges against, 476-7.
- Pitt, William: Miranda makes proposal to, 66, 70; characterized, 69; letters to and by, cited, 66 n, 308, 308 n.
- Pittsburg, Pa.: Willing leaves, 269 n; Amer. commander at, 271; Amer. return to, 273.
- Pius V.: recognizes univ. of San Marcos. 110.
- Pius VII: ready to make concessions, 158; Cong. of Angustura makes request of, 158-9; mem'l sent to, 159; Zea sends intemperate note to, 159; replies to Spain, 162; approves miss'n of Cienfuegos, 163; his *Hisp. Amer.* policy, 165 n; solemnizes concordat, 335.

- Pius VIII.: succeeds Leo XII., 171; attitude of Ferdinand VII. to, 171; refuses nat'l patronage, 171; death, 172.
- Pius IX.: allocution, 324-5; receives Maximilian, 324-5; his theory of govt., 325; solicitous for Mex. people, 326; app. nuncio for Mex., 328; writes Mex., 330-2; Maximilian's statement to, 336; issues encyclical, 350; how regarded by conservatives, 351; does not aid Maximilian, 358; Charlotte appeals to, 359.
- Pizarro, Francisco: founds Peruvian capital, 107.
- Plans: Olaete seeks, 84; Iguala, 320.
- Plantations: Mayas plunder, 138; in E. Fla., 417.
- Planters: Anglo-Amer., in E. Fla., 424; Mathews attempts to revolutionize, 427; Bowden, cited, 444.
- Plaquettes*: defined, 181.
- Plata Region: Bland describes, 52; welcomes com'n, 59.
- Platt, Ray: promises aid to atlas, 259.
- Playing Cards: during Fr. Rev'n, 64.
- Plunder: in Havana, 306, 310.
- Pocock, Sir George (Eng. adm.): captures Havana, 303; commands Brit. fleet, 303 n; opinion of his victory, 307; congratulations sent, from N. Y., 313; Lyttelton congratulates, 315; sends despatches to London, 303; letters to and by, cited, 307, 307 n, 308 n.
- Poems: on index, 63.
- Poinsett, Joel R.: official agt. to S. A., 33 n; first choice for special com'n, 37; travels in Europe, 37; declines miss'n, 38; characterized, 37 n; letters to and by, cited, 31-2, 37 n, 38 n, 53; his rept., 50, 51 n, 53.
- Point Peter, Ga.: U. S. forces stationed at, 426, 427; López goes to, 428; supplies at, 430; López sends messengers to, 433; Mathews at, 433; gunboats return to, 435.
- Police: in Lima, 494, 495.
- Politics: Wast's attitude toward, 121.
- Polk, James K. (pres. of U. S.): considers Yucatan's request, 140; cited, 140 n.
- Pollock, Oliver: services, 267 n; Gálvez advises, 270; Gálvez negotiates with, 272; letters by, cited, 270, 270 n, 271; papers, cited, 270 n.
- Pollock and Maitland: cited, 535 n.
- Polo, José Toribio: cited, 494 n.
- Pompadour, Mme.: Paine lives in house of, 72.
- Poor: special attention given to, 458.
- Popayán, Colombia: bishop preconized for, 174.
- Popes: injured by book, 62; Span. attitude toward, 155, 457; cannot ignore patronage, 156; early attitude toward Span. Amer., 156; Span. govt. petitions, 156, 158; negotiations with sanctioned, 156 n; fears schism, 157; attributes, 159; jurisdiction, 341-2; relation of conservatives to, 344-5; gives resignation of bishops to Napoleon, 345; issues encyclical, 346.
- Popham, Sir Home: cited, 66, 66 n.
- Population: investigated, 46; Rodney repts. on, 51; Bland repts. on, 52; of Mex. town, 204; of E. Fla. (1812), 417; of S. A., 523.
- Port Egmont, Falkland Islands: Eng. settlement, 471, 481; Span. destroy, 471; Brit. abandon, 472, 482.
- Porto Rico Reports: cited, 539 n.
- Port Soledad, Falkland Islands: Vernet in, 473; U. S. vessel held at, 474; Duncan destroys colony at, 477. *See also* Islands: Soledad.
- Porto Bello, Panama: location, 4; a trade center, 4, 9; fortified, 292.
- Portogalete, ———: (pilot): deserts, 371.
- Ports and Harbors: importance increases, 2; com'rs to S. A. to note, 42; foreigners may not enter Span., 266; Span. spies in, 288; fortified, 295; impossible to fortify all Peruvian, 496;

- Hisp. Amer., 523; Amelia Harbor, 418, 430, 435; (*see also* Islands: Amelia).
- Portugal: part of Span. empire, 10; represented on Span. junta, 12 n; trades with E. Indies, 10; info. gathered in, 13; papal action rdg., 173; early foreign bankers have relations with, 181; Alexander VI. arbiter for, 212; to be deprived of spice trade, 212; hostilities with Spain, 297; disintegration of its colonies, 546. *See also* Portuguese.
- Portuguese: trading co. proposed for, 10-11; merchants in India, 12; in Brazil, 44; hold Montevideo, 45 n; trade spices, 212; Span. seize ship of, 286; in Eng., 288 n; in ship's crew, 291 n.
- Pradt, Abbé de: translates Brackenride's pamphlet, 54.
- Praesís Provinciae*: origin of corregidor, 448.
- Pratt, Julius W.: cited, 419 n, 421 n, 423 n, 426 n, 428 n, 429 n, 437 n, 438 n, 439 n, 442 n, 443 n, 444 n.
- Prelates: asked to solve Mex. problem, 358.
- Presbyterians: Church fears, 157, 165 n.
- Prescott, William H.: tradition left by, 545.
- Presidios: Span. in Africa, used as prison, 498. *See also* Garrisons.
- Press: freedom of, in Buenos Aires, 52; early, in Spain, 180; eccles. hostile to free, 322.
- Presupuestos para la execucion de lo discurrido*: cited, 23 n.
- Prevost, John B.: considered for S. A. com'n, 38; at Astoria, 38 n; promises coöperation, 43; letter, cited, 38 n.
- Prices: how maintained, 6; low in Indies, 9; promise rdg., 11; Fr. in Peru, 27; corregidor controls, 454, 461-2; 468, 469; excessive, 466; must be reasonable, 468.
- Priestley: Herbert Ingram: reviews books, 104-6; translator and editor, 258.
- Priests: in Mex., not rev'nists, 93; Aztec, in Mex., depicted, 183; 208; get dead person's clothes, 211.
- Printing: of foreign news, in Seville, 180.
- Prisoners: Cortés takes, 194; Willing captures Brit., 269 n; Span. take Eng., 280; Croix aids, 503.
- Privateering: in S. A., 48 n.
- Privateers: in S. A., 56; south freed from, 313-14. *See also* Ships.
- Prizes: awarded to Wast, 166-17.
- Procedure: in corregidor's residencia, 465.
- Proclamations: of Fr. convention, 76; neutrality, 77; Fauchet issues, 81; of Yucatan's reunion with Mex., 135; rev'nists issue, 429; amnesty, 443; posted in Falklands, 476-7; pub. in Lima, 491.
- Professors: importance, in Peru, 109.
- Profiteers: corregidor controls, 461.
- Profits: foreigners make, 10; divided pro rata, 24; share of contraband, paid to Span. gov., 269; increase in contraband trade, 286; corregidores make, 466, 467.
- Program: of bibliogr. agenda, 388.
- Prohibitions: against books, 61, 62-3; playing cards, 89; com'l, 135, 300; on mestizos, 147; tobacco, 294; *re* eccles. patronage, 318-19; on eccles. corporations, 321 n; eccles., 348; of immoral shows, 456; of explosives, 494.
- Propaganda: Fr. in Mex., 64, 65; spreads in Amer., 79-80; spread by bible society, 167-8; Prot. from U. S. feared, 168; filibustering, 436.
- Propagandists: Fr. go to New Spain, 69-70.
- Property: govt. seizes, of arrested persons, 93; restriction of ownership by eccles. 321, 321 n; Maximilian proposes to investigate church, 327, 334; chief prop. of Mex. Catholicism, 329; church sold, 330, 346; trouble rdg. church,

337; sequestration of eccles., approved, 341; eccles. decree rdg., 347-9; restitution demanded, 481.

Protestantism: menaces colonies, 167.

Protestants: many in Amer., 167; in Mex., 329.

Provisions: adopted in Span. Amer., 155; rdg. Floridas, proposed by U. S., 421-2.

Prussia: alliance of, sought, 69; min. for, at papal meeting, 169.

Public Works: corregidor controls, 460; Croix promotes, 494.

Pueblos: corregidor inspects, 457.

Puerto Carrero, ———: money seized from, 180; gives info. of Cortés, 181.

Puerto de San Tomás: Hawkins at, 26.

Pueyrredón, Juan Martín de (supreme dictator in Buenos Aires): signs treaty, 35; rumor rdg., 44; com'n meets, 44-5; effect of com'n on, 46, 55; letter, cited, 35 n.

Puglio, James: effect of books in Mex., 61.

Purviance, ———: cited, 48 n.

Putnam, Herbert (Lib'n of Cong.): letter to Huntington, 547-8.

Pyramid: in Mex., 206.

QUAIL: in Mex., 196.

Querétaro, Mex.: bishop of, signs memorial, 337; Maximilian executed at, 359-60.

Quesada, Vicente G.: Baylies writes, 485; cited, 492 n, 493 n.

Quicksilver. *See* Mercury.

Quincy, Josiah: Mendez compared to, 143.

Quintana Roo, Andrés (agt. of Santa Anna): negotiations in Yucatán, 133-4.

Quito (province): youth of, attend San Marco, 109; abuses in, 467.

Quivira Society: activities, 528.

RABBITS: in Mex., 196.

Races: moral equality upheld by Spain, 145-7.

Raikes, Francis William: cited, 541 n, 544 n.

Ramírez, Bishop, ———: member of com'n, 344.

Ramírez, Francisco (Mex. official): clericals oppose, 326; diplomatic acts, 326.

Ramos Mejia, Francisco: exaggerates cabildo, 150.

Raynal, Guillaume Thomas François: works prohibited, 499.

Real Patronato: origin and definition, 155; Span. in Amer., 154; Bolivia hopes to secure, for col., 158; deprived of its chief value, 170.

Rebellions. *See* Rebels; Revolts; Revolutionists; *and* Revolutions.

Rebels: among Dutch, 10; Span. Amer. approach Rome, 155; psychological moment to approach papacy, 158; Spain's treatment of, 165 n. *See also* Revolts; Revolutionists; *and* Revolutions.

Recopilación de las Leyes: cited, 55 n, 146, 148, 446, 446 n, 449 n, 450, 450 n, 451 n, 452, 452 n, 453 n, 454 n, 459, 459 n, 461 n, 462 n, 463 n, 466, 495 n, 497 n, 537 n.

Rector: of univ., how chosen, 110.

Reed, William T. (private sec'y): sails with com'n, 43.

Reforms: trading companies intended for, 6; needed in Span. economic life, 11; com'l needed, 13; in Span. admin., 19; Floridablanca favors, 65; Bourbon effect, 151; laws of, in Mex., confirmed, 323; Maximilian proposes eccles., 332-4, 343; not inaugurated in Mex., 334; eccles. needed in Mex., 336-7; opposed, 338-42; decrees rdg., issued, 347-9; pope protests, 350; introduced into Span. Amer. admin., 447; in Peru, 491; Croix effects, 493; war councils discuss, 496; eccles., by Croix, 499.

Regalists: theory held by, 155.

Regidores (Span. officials): defined, 449 n; corregidor outranks, 456.

- Regiments: in Peru, 500. *See also* Military; and Soldiers.
- Regimento: defined, 499 n, 459; corregidor has seat in, 456; subordinate to corregidor, 459.
- Register of Debates*: cited, 477 n.
- Reglamento Provisorio*: cited, 156 n.
- Regulations: of univ. of Paris, 111; traders disregard, 265; corregidores controlled by, 457; corregidor empowered to make, 459; governing sealing in Falklands, 474; for gambling, 534.
- Relacion de la Gente*: cited, 291 n.
- Relacion embiado por don Fadrique de Toledo*: cited, 299 n.
- Relatorio apresentado*: reviewed, 382-3.
- Relics: Muzi sells, 163, 163 n.
- Religious: restrictions on, in Mex., 321 n. *See also* Friars; Jesuits; and the several religious orders of Friars.
- Renault, Francis P.: cited, 67 n.
- Repartimientos*: defined, 468 n; univ. supported by, 107.
- Rept. of Sec'y of Navy*: cited, 477 n.
- Reptiles: in Mex., 207; bones used as tools, 372; eggs used as food, 374, 375. Named—lizards, 207; tortoise, 372; turtle, 374, 375.
- Residencia*: of corregidores, taken, 453, 456, 464-5; judge, 469.
- Resignations: from regency, 324; of bishops, 345; of Clayton, 367.
- Resolutions: Clay introduces, 58; of cong. of Tucuman, 156 n; of U. S. cong., 275, 275 n.
- Restrictions: on trade, 21, 435; imposed on corregidor, 454, 459.
- Retama, Francisco de: advises formation of trading companies, 10.
- Revenues: built up by trading companies, 3; averia proposed, 9; how raised, 9, 25, 495; reforms in Span., 19; proposed cession by church of, 332; corregidor collects, 457; in Peru, 493; failure of intendants rdg., 502.
- Revilla-Gigedo, Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, conde de (viceroy of Mex.): his opinion of La., 72; warns officials, 83; has Fr. cook, 87; his cook tried by inquisition, 92; lenient to Fr., 88; letters by, cited, 70 n, 83, 83 n, 84 n, 85 n, 86 n; orders to, cited, 83 n; letters to, cited, 84 n, 87 n.
- Revolts (rebellions): Portugal against Spain, 13; books induce, 63; La. ready for, 71; planned in Mex., 91; in Yucatan, 132-3; liberal, in Spain, 156, 157; Muzi's presence threatens, 163; slave, feared in Jamaica, 315; Mina leads, 415.
- Revolutionists: Span. Amer.—defeated, 31; some favor in U. S., 32; U. S. recognizes, 56; Clay champions, 33-4; in Buenos Aires, 34 n; Poinsett with, 38; welcome commission, 59; approach Rome, 155. French (generally with reference to Span. Amer.)—stimulated by Miranda, 68; in Mex., 74; need funds, 80; Folney agt. for, 82; come from France, 82; arrested in Mex., 91-2; plans of, in Mex., 92-3. In East Fla.—expect aid of U. S. forces, 427; U. S. aid refused, 428; Amer.'ns aid, 428 n; U. S. citizens become, 428 n; Campbell aids, 430; U. S. arms issued to, 430 n; advance on Fernandina, 434; fire on Span., 438; at Moosa, 438 n; Mitchell ordered to aid, 440; abandon "patriot" army, 441; negotiate with Ind., 441; encouraged by U. S. regulars, 443; threaten Span., 444; Monroe repudiates, 444-5; gain self govt., 445. *See also* Rebels; and Revolutions.
- Revolutions: many in Span. Amer., 31; attitude toward in U. S., 33; Europe interferes with, 36; U. S. watches, 37, 56; badly managed in Buenos Aires, 52; visit of com'n favorable to, 56; ideas undermined, 144; defined, 144; leader, 148; basic principles of early, 152-3; problems arising from, 154;

- plans, 265-85; affect New Orleans, 265; Span. policy in, 265-6; Spain faces, 421; conditions arising from, in Buenos Aires, 473-4; course in Buenos Aires, 479; some think endemic in *Hisp. Amer.*, 525. French—with reference to Mex. and other colonies, 60-98; keeps inquisition busy, 61; discussed in Mex., 64; effect of, in Mex., 65-98; ideas of, in Mex., 87; Miranda's connection with, 67-70; considers aid to Span. col., 68; plans for, on La. border, 70-82; Genêt sows seeds of, 71; Imlay, a soldier of, 73; his rôle in, 75. In Mex., cause various evils, 331. In East Florida—place in, 415; outgrowth of rev'n of W. Fla., 415, 419; its course, 415-45; has connection with, of *Span. Amer.*, 416; a precedent, 416; local, 416; seizure of Amelia Island connected with, 417; importance of Fernandina in, 418; Mathews in, 421 n, 425; preparations for, 426; plans completed, 427; methods employed to foster, 436; merges into war of 1812, 442; its interest, 445; terminated, 445. *Amer. sailors* in before, 471.
- Rewards: French seek, 68; for capturing runaway slaves, 494.
- Rey, Agapito: book reviewed, 510-11.
- Rhode Island: troops from in Havana, 311 n.
- Richardson, Ernest Cushing: member of committees, 255; coöperates with lib'y com'n, 517; bibliogr. article by, 251-3.
- Riddick v. Walsh: cited, 538 n.
- Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: com'rs at, 41, 44; effect of visit on, 56.
- Rio de la Hacha: attacked (1544), 289.
- Rio de la Plata (province): revolutionists in, not defeated, 31; attitude in, toward U. S., 53; *id.*, toward Gt. Brit., 53; Falklands part of, 473; decree, 474.
- Ripperde, Baron ——— de: Croix writes, 490 n.
- Rippy, J. Fred: book reviewed, 213-14, 507-8; reviews books, 214-15, 377-8; translator and editor, 258; notice, 262; has exchange professorship, 527.
- Riva Palacios, V.: cited, 166 n, 168 n, 174 n.
- Rivadavia, Bernardino: orders Muzi to leave country, 163.
- Rivers: cause diplomatic problems, 77, 276 n; discovery and exploration, 177, 178, 179, 184, 188, 192, 198, 199. Named—Appalachicola, 416; Coatzacoalecos, 184; Colorado, 490; Columbia, 38 n; Espiritu Santo, 178 (*see below* Mississippi); Grimalua, 192 (*see below* Tabasco); Gudolffa, 198 (*see below* Tabasco); Kochoquaquo, 199; Mississippi (Santo Espiritu), 74, 76, 77, 178, 266, 267, 267 n, 268, 268 n, 269 n, 270, 271, 272, 273, 276, 276 n, 280, 285, 484; Nassau, 416; Negro, 482; Ohio, 271; Palmas, 178; Pánuco (Ponno), 178, 179; Perdido, 420; Plate, 41; Ponno (*see above*, Pánuco); Rio Bravo, 360; Rio de Canoas, 177; St. Johns, 416, 417, 418, 424, 426, 427, 431, 431 n, 437, 438, 438 n, 441, 442, 443; St. Marys, 416, 417, 418, 421, 423, 426, 426 n, 427, 428, 429, 431, 431 n, 444; San Pedro y San Pablo, 178; Tabasco (Grimalua, Gudolffa), 188, 192.
- Rives, George L.: cited, 77 n.
- Roads: Croix promotes good, 494.
- Robertson, James Alexander: reviews books, 237-9, 239-40, 382-3, 512-13, 514-15; aid given by, 254, 255; member of committees, 255; report by, 257-61; cited, 71 n, 72 n, 82 n.
- Robertson, William Spence: presides at meeting, 241; section editor, 255; translator and editor, 258; notice, 262; book reviewed, 379-81; cited, 19 n, 66 n, 67 n, 69 n, 70 n, 72 n.

- Roberval, ———: Span. spy mentions, 288 n.
- Robespierre, Pierre: dominates party, 79.
- Rocheblave, ———: letters, cited, 269 n.
- Rockefeller, John D., Jr.: creates fund for Lib'y of Cong., 243 n, 251.
- Rockingham, Charles Watson Wentworth, Marquis: cited, 304 n, 308 n, 309 n.
- Rodney, Caesar Augustus: receives apptmts, 38, 39 n; has private sec'y, 43; sails with com'n, 43; favors recognition of Buenos Aires, 57; criticises Bland, 48 n; makes separate rept., 50; his rept. analysed, 51-2; rept. impartial, 54; death, 475; criticised, 50; sketch, 38-9; letters to, and by, cited, 42 n, 43 n, 44 n.
- Rodney, Adm. George Brydges, Lord: cited, 307, 307 n.
- Rodney, Thomas: sails with com'n 43.
- Rojas, Aristides: cited, 67 n, 68 n, 69 n.
- Rolands, The: meet with Paine, 73.
- Roman Catholics: dominate in Mex., 320 (*see also* Catholics).
- Rome, Italy (often synonymous with Papacy, *q. v.*): Cienfuegos in, 163 n; Muzi in, 164; first great S. A. diplomat reaches, 165; Tejada in, 167; T. invited to, 168; Vázquez goes to, 172; Maximilian visits, 324-5; Gutierre Estrada in, 327; Charlotte's mission to, fails, 359.
- Romero de Terreros, Manuel: cited, 446.
- Roos, Pres. ———: king writes, 12.
- Roosevelt, Theodore: acts first, 420; visits S. A., 523; cited, 523.
- Root, Elihu: visits Hisp. Amer., 550; cited, 523.
- Rose's Bluff, Fla.: Mathews takes charge of, 429; insurgents assemble at, 429.
- Rousseau, Jean Jacques: his books read in Spain, 61; Volney worse than, 62.
- Rovira, José (com'r to U. S.): educated in U. S., 135; activities, 135-6; letters by, cited, 136 n, 137 n.
- Rowe, L. S. (director gen'l) of Pan Amer. Union): appts. bibliogr. com'n, 255.
- Royal Company of Philippines: has charge of slavetrade, 493-4.
- Royston, ———: letter by, cited, 308 n.
- Ruiz, Jacome (Jacobo de las Leyes): Ital. jurist, 539; cited, 534, 539 n.
- Rush, Ralph L.: cited, 73 n.
- Rush, Richard: draws up instructions, 40; recommends Brackenridge, 40; letters by and to, cited, 36 n, 38 n, 40 n, 42 n, 49 n.
- Russell, John, Duke of Bedford: cited, 309 n.
- Russell, Nelson Vance: article by, 303-16.
- Russia: ambassador, attends papal meeting, 169.
- Rutledge, John: letter to, cited, 271 n.
- Rydjord, John: article by, 60-98.
- SACHENSPIEGEL**: completed, 542.
- Saco, José Antonio: book reviewed, 509-10.
- Sacrifices: by Aztec priests, 183; among Ind., 197, 199, 207-8; of children, 199.
- Sailors: Genêt recruits, 86; Cortés seizes, from Garay, 179; Eng., dreaded, 287; Brit. praised, 304; U. S. forced into Vernet's service, 480.
- St. James's (palace): court held at, 305.
- St. Louis, Mo.: Clark proposes to capture, 76.
- St. Malo, France: Falklands named after, 471.
- St. Mary's, Ga.: situation at, 422-3; Smith stationed near, 426; Clark, an official at, 427; López writes justices at, 431; immigrants assemble near, 429; Mitchell at, 440.
- St. Augustine, Fla.: Amer. asked and expected to seize, 274, 279 n; Navarro plans to attack, 275; Lincoln's views rdg. campaign against, 278; prosperity

- near, 417; region south of, 417; only important town in its region, 417; Mathews plans to bribe, 424; attack planned, 427, 428; "patriots" desire, 428 n; rev'n'ts attempt to seize, 436; Span. sent to, 436 n; U. S. gunboats near, 437; rev'n't's camp near, 438; makes truce with U. S. troops, 440; black troops said to be in, 442; U. S. forces retreat from, 443.
- Salamanca, Miguel de: king writes, 12; makes investigation, 12-13.
- Salaries and Wages: Clay attempts to provide, 58; of soldiers, 142 n; of ships' crew, 291 n; official has no regular, 448; of coregidor, 462-4; lt. of police in Lima, 495; in colleges, 500.
- Salas, Julio C.: notice, 128.
- Salas, Gen. Mariano: acts as regent, 323; church protests his decree, 338.
- Salcedo Ruiz, Ángel: cited, 60 n, 61 n.
- Sales: made on credit, 28.
- Saligny, Gen. ——— (Fr. officer): his program in Mex., 323.
- Sallusti, José: accompanies Muzi, 163; cited, 162 n, 163 n, 164 n.
- Samperio, José María: reviews Wast's novels, 116.
- Samtua. *See* Cempoalla.
- San Antonio de Bexar, Txa.: council at (1778), 489.
- Sánchez Galindo, Juan: accompanies exped., 178.
- Sánchez de Tejada, Dr. Ignacio: apptd. Colombian min. to Rome, 160.
- San Fernando. *See* Fernando III.
- San Juan, Mex.: Span. go to, 195.
- San Juan de Portalalina (San Juan of the Golden Gates): Span. at, 187, 187 n, 189.
- San Juan of the Golden Gates. *See* preceding item.
- San Juan de Ulna, Mex.: fortified, 292.
- San Lúcar de Barrameda: port for trade of Indies, 4.
- San Marcos: Peru: king appts. corregidor, for, 450; salary of corregidor, 463.
- San Martín, Antonio de: editor, 530 n, 531 n.
- San Martín, Gen. José de (S. A. patriot): his Chilean campaign, 31; captures Lima, 156; visits papal delegate, 163.
- San Martín, José de: his Chilean campaign, 31.
- San Martín, Tomás D. (O. P.): petitions Charles V., 107.
- San Miguel Piura, Peru: king appoints corregidor for, 450.
- Santa Anna, Antonio Lopez de (Gen. and pres. of Mex.): his agt. in Yucatan, 133; fails to approve treaty, 134; his promise to Barbachano, 134; sends army to Yucatan, 134.
- Santa Cruz. *See* Islands: Cozumel.
- Santa Fé, Argentina: opposes Buenos Aires, 52; figures in novels, 120; vice-royalty created in, 151.
- Santa Fé, N. M.: Clark willing to seize, 76.
- Santa Marta, Colombia: bishop preconized for, 174; attacked (1545), 289; Peru furnishes subsidy for, 496-7.
- Santander, ———: powers, 160; becomes vice pres. of Gt. Columbia, 160.
- Santiago, Chile: Muzi in, 163; intendancy for considered, 492.
- Santiago, Cuba: home of Cortés, 189; earth work built in, 289; garrison establ. at, 295.
- Santo (San) Domingo: French in, 275; munitions sent to, 288 n; location of fort at, 289 n; harbor closed by chain, 289-90; castles stripped of guns, 290; Eng. occupy, 292; galley of, out of com'n, 292; mil. condition, 292 n; Maese Joan leaves, 370; ship tries to return to, 371.
- Sarmiento, Domingo Faustino: exaggerates cabildo, 150.

- Savannah, Ga.: Brit. hold, 278.
- Savera, Juan: associate of Malvert, 90 n.
- Sayre, Stephen: revolutionist, 73, 74.
- Scapular: Mex. Ind. wear, 208.
- Scarfs: sold in Mex., 210.
- Schism: pope fears, 157; threatened in church, 166.
- Schools: technical, in Fr., 112; religious toleration decreed for, in Mex., 353. *See also* Colleges and Universities; and Education.
- Schuyler, Gen. Philip John: member of com'n, 277, 277 n; rept. cited, 277 n, 278.
- Scott, Dr. S. P.: translates *Siete Partidas*, 410, 529; translates Span. codes, 530 n.
- Scott v. Ward: cited, 538 n.
- Sea-cows: used for food, 372.
- Sea-crows: used as food, 375.
- "Sea Dog": Brit. called, 286.
- Seamen: in ship's crew, 291 n. *See also* Sailors.
- Seals: used for food, 372, 374, 375; how killed, 474; closed season for, ordered, 486.
- Sealskins: boat made from, 369; utensils made from, 373; clothes made from, 376; Vernet ships, 473; taken at Falklands, 474.
- Sea Snails: attack castaways, 374-5.
- Secessions: many in Yucatan, 132; Yucatec ass'y votes, 134; rampant in Mex., 142; U. S. compared to Yucatec, 143.
- Seckloes: corruption for "caciques" (*q. v.*) 206.
- Sedgwick, Ruth: article by, 116-26.
- Segovia, Spain: Cortés held at, 535.
- Semilla: corruption for Seville (*q. v.*), 204.
- Sempere y Guarinos, Juan: cited, 535.
- Sentinels: establ. on coast, 498.
- Separatists: pope's attitude toward in S. A., 15-16.
- Sequestration: approved, 341.
- Seranas. *See* Serranas.
- Sermons: celebrate capture of Havana, 311-12.
- Serrana Keys: castaway on, 368-76.
- Serrano (Seranus): Juan (João): in Magellan's fleet, 212; death, 212.
- Serrano, Pedro: a castaway, 369.
- Servants: French act as, 87; of corregidor, 454.
- Setenario: compilation begun, 531.
- Settlers: in La., 80.
- Seville (Semilla, Sevilla) Spain: port of trade for Indies, 4; merchants of, in *consulado*, 5; trading co. proposed for, 13; advice of traders at, sought, 16; prints foreign news, 180, 182, 184; order sent to, 180; *Victoria* arrives in, 185; Span. expd. sails from, 198; people go to Indies from, 202; distance of Hispaniola from, 203; town compared to, 204; Mex. City compared to, 206; Archives in, 245 n (*see also* Archives); surrenders to Fernando III., 531.
- Sewall, Rev. Dr. ———: preaches on capture of Havana, 311-12.
- Shares: in trading co., 24.
- Sharkey, Judge W. L.: consul at Havana, 364.
- Shea, J. G.: cited, 163 n.
- Shepherd, William R.: member of committee, 255; commends hist. atlas, 259.
- Sheriff: in London, 73.
- Shelby, Gov. Isaac (of Ky.): Jefferson writes, 78.
- Sherman, ———: member of committee, 277.
- Sherman, Charles E.: cited, 423 n, 424 n.
- Sherman, Charles Phineas: cited, 535 n, 536 n, 540 n.
- Ship building: by trading companies, 3.
- Shipmasters: licensed by casa de contratación, 5.
- Shipping: at Fernandina, 418. *See also* Commerce; and Ships.
- Ships (boats, etc.): trading companies build, 3; Span. build in Holland, 297;

- how made, 369; castaways build, 372; careened, 178; crews, 291 n; officers carried on, 25; casa de contratación inspects, 5; Olaete examines, 86; rules governing, 497; Span. policy regarding foreign, 266, 288 n; Span. ports forbidden to, 266; letters of marque issued to, 434; flies Fr. flag, 476. Fleet system reformed, 19; convoy system fails, 21; single ships declared safer, 21-2; single not best for com., 22; armed, 8; decadence, 293; combined into fleets, 296. Methods of trading by, 4; of trading companies, 17, 493; Pedro de Sifuentes owns, 370; goods in, not registered, 27; in Peruvian trade, 27. Defended, 6; captured, 18, 268-9, 269 n, 270, 280, 286, 313, 474, 476, 478, 479; release demanded, 269 n, 476; aid of, asked, 271; buccaneers burn, 297; attack buccaneers, 301; defeated, 293; rescue Maese Joan, 374; carry news, 181-2. Sail for Honduras, 26; at Caracas, 27; Cortés sends, to Spain, 177; *id.*, to Sto. Domingo, 184; Grijalva sends to Cuba, 177; of Garay, 178; of Columbus, almost wrecked, 204; Mex. City, 208; ordered to New Orleans, 269 n; sent to Mississippi Riv., 270; at Sto. Domingo, 290; sent to Jamaica, 315; rendezvous for, 418; held at Port Soledad, 474. By nationality—Brit., 266, 269, 269 n, 270, 280, 315, 423, 430, 432, 434, 435, 484; Dutch, 301; French, 27, 74, 86, 96, 288 n, 291; Portuguese, 286; Span., 4, 17, 19, 21, 24, 26, 85, 91, 96, 140, 177, 178, 184, 186, 187 n, 189, 191, 268-9, 271, 284, 288, 289, 290, 291, 291 n, 292, 293, 294, 296, 297, 298 n, 306 n, 308, 313, 438, 488, 493, 497, 503; Span.-Amer., 418; Texan, 133; United Provinces of South Amer., 472; U. S., 38 n, 40, 40 n, 43, 49, 55, 140, 266, 269 n, 278, 297, 426, 427, 428, 428 n, 431, 432, 433-4, 434 n, 435, 437, 472, 474, 475, 476, 478, 479, 486, 497; Yucatec, 137. Kind and use—com'l and merchantmen, 4, 20, 24, 290, 293, 296, 297, 298 n, 493; for convoy, 4, 6, 21, 288, 290, 293, 296, 297; register, 20; postal, 24; coast-guard 86, 292; advice, 284; treasure, 308; fishing, 486; warships, 4, 8, 9, 290, 293, 296, 299; privateers, 418, 473; gunboats, 426, 427, 428, 428 n, 431, 432, 433-4, 434 n, 435, 437; armadas, 293, 296, 299, 497; fleets (*flotas*), 4, 8, 17, 19, 20, 28, 74, 86, 179, 189, 191, 288, 290 n, 292, 293, 294, 296, 297, 298, 298 n, 301, 303, 306 n, 503; naval, 133; Windward Squadron, 292, 293, 296, 301; Oceanic fleet, 293, 297; Caribbean fleet, 296. Galleons, 4, 19, 20, 296, 488; guard ship, 9; frigates, 24, 40 n, 43, 55, 271, 278, 292, 298, 298 n, 472; tender, 24; patache, 24, 26, 290, 297; corvettes, 43; brigantines, 85, 186, 187 n, 191, 192, 290; small boats, 201, 208, 433; caravelas, 203; canoes, 205, 370; sloops, 290, 314; galleys, 290, 292; urcas, 298 n; rafts, 372; large boats, 434; schooners, 438, 472, 474, 478, 479. Names—*Atlanta*, 269; *Breakwater*, 474, 476, 477, 478; *Campechaño*, 85; *Clio*, 484; *Congress*, 40 n, 41 n, 43, 44, 49, 49 n, 55; *General Knox*, 472; *Harriet*, 474, 475, 476, 479, 480, 482, 486; *Heroine*, 472; *Hound*, 270; *Lexington*, 476; *Ontario*, 38 n, 41, 43; *Rattletrap*, 269 n; *Rebecca*, 269 n; *Superior*, 474, 475, 476, 479, 480; *Sylph*, 270; *Victoria*, 185; *Washington*, 486; *West Florida*, 268. Shipwrecks: in Indies, 290; on Serrana Keys, 369, 371. Shirts: given to Ind., 195, 197. Shoals: shipwreck on, 369, 371. Short, William: Jefferson writes, 77. Sierra O'Reilly, Justo: sent to U. S., 137; his instructions, 139; letters by, cited, 137, 138, 138 n, 139, 141-2, 143, 152.

- Siete Partidas, Las*: in full Eng. dress, 529-44; importance, 530, 537 n; its original plan, 532 n; its first name, 533; work of several jurists, 534; enforcement, 534-6; embodies Roman law, 535; character, 535, 542; text book, 536; later history, 536-9; promulgated (1348), 536-7; law of all Span. empire, 537; in force in La., 537-8; invoked in Texas and Calif., 538; sources, 539-42; relation to canon law, 540; estimates of, 542-3; arrangement and contents, 543-4.
- Siliceo, ——— (min. of Mex.): his instructions, 353.
- Silks: mfrs. of can participate in trading co., 20; clothing made of, 195.
- Silver: in cargo, 9; lacking in Honduras, 27; wheel of, sent to Cortés, 177; in Mex., 196; Ind. give Cortés, 200; sold in Mex., 209; belief of woman of, 211-12; made into ornaments, 467; crown deprived of impost on plate, 467; how extracted, 495; sword pointed with, 523.
- Silversmiths: among Ind., 467.
- Simpson, Lesley Byrd: contributes doc., 368-76.
- Sinclair, Capt. ———: commands *Congress*, 43.
- Sineuhimelca (Sienchamalen): Cortés in, 204, 204 n.
- Sisál, Yucatan: Texan vessels at, 133.
- Situado*: how carried, 298 n. *See also* Subsidies.
- Skinner, ——— (Bland's son-in-law): interested in privateering, 48 n.
- Skins. *See* Hides and Skins.
- Slacum, George W. (U. S. Consul in S. A.): rept. made to, 475; denies right of Buenos Aires to make arrests, 481; cited, 475-6, 479.
- Slavetrade: wrong, 146; U. S. violates, 366; Phil. Co. has charge of, 493-4.
- Slavery: Avendaño combats, 146.
- Slaves: Span. hunt for, 176; Ind. made, 186-7; rebellion of in Jamaica, feared, 315; in Cuba, to be liberated, 365; rumors rdg. in Cuba, 366; fugitive, in E. Fla., 417; left to Ind., 444; run-away recaptured, 494.
- Smith, Buckingham: cited, 288 n.
- Smith, Robert (sec'y. of state): Florida policy not a credit to, 416; Folch offers to transfer W. Fla. to, 419; instructs Mathews, 422; Monroe succeeds, 423; letter by, cited, 37 n.
- Smith, Capt. and Lt. Col. T. A.: concerned in rev'n of Span. Amer., 68-9; informs Jefferson of Fr. plans, 77; stationed at Pt. Peter, 426; absent on leave, 427-8; his return awaited, 429; at Fernandina, 436; accepts E. Fla. for U. S., 437; advances thro' Fla., 437; aids revolutionists, 437; technically within U. S., 438; his men at Picolata, 438 n; makes truce with Span., 440; Kindelan breaks off negotiations with, 441; aided by Newnan, 442-3; leaves Camp New Hope, 443.
- Smuggling: in Span. trade, 6; in Indies, 21; in Yucatan, 136; in Louisiana, 269; profitable in E. Fla., 417; at Fernandina, 418, 423; up along St. Marys River, 421.
- Snails: shells used to catch water, 372.
- Soiza Reilly, Juan José (Augustinian critic): cited, 116, 122.
- Soldiers: expensive in low countries, 17; proposal for free transportation for, 17, 18; Yucatan asks U. S. for, 139; prepared for exped., 189; with Cortés, 204; Span., for Amer. campaign, 274; convoy of, arranged, 277; planned to send Amer. to Charleston, 278; Navarro needs, 280; Gálvez's regiments, 281; Gálvez asks additional, 282; vote for capture of Mobile, 283; in ship's crew, 291 n; Span. send to Indies, 292; Span. opinion of colonial, 292 n;

- trained, at Havana, 295; Brit., praised, 304; U. S. expected to volunteer, 428; U. S. near Fla., 428 n; Mathews attempt to enlist U. S., 429; Brit. said to employ black, 430; U. S., in E. Fla., 436; U. S. occupy Amelia Island, 436; U. S. to be withdrawn from E. Fla., 439-40; U. S. in revolutionary camp, 441 n; Black, said to be in St. Augustine, 442; desired for border warfare, 489; sickness among, 496; *consulado* may arrest, 498; married in Peru, 500; quell insubordination, 501.
- Solórzano Pereira, ———: refers to Father Agia, 146; opinion, cited, 148.
- Somaglia, Cardinal della: contradicts Cienfuegos, 164; Vargas influences, 166; receives Tejada, 167; asks him to retire to Bologna, 168.
- Sonora (Mex. province and state): Fr. in, 95.
- Sonora, Marquis of: cited, 447, 448.
- Sonsonate: Peruvian ship in, 27.
- Sorel, Albert: cited, 69 n, 71 n.
- Soria: regiment of, in Peru, 500.
- South Carolina: legislature, 38; citizens of, aid Genét, 78; hostilities about, 277; Brit. plan campaign for, 278; trade ruined by war, 313-14.
- Sovereignty: present idea, 149.
- Spain: king, 12, 19, 150, 180, 276, 296; Bourbons rule, 6, 19, 69, 87; Philip V. introduces reforms, 19; monarchs levy forced loans, 22; Ferdinand VII. legitimate ruler of, 31; spirit of crown molded by various leaders, 145; force of king's policy, 150; king has absolute jurisdiction over eccles. affairs of Indies, 154; constitutional govt. in, 157; absolutism reestablished in, 158, 165; has not abrogated its rights, 162; monarchs weak, 293; crown misuses funds, 296; king's privilege outlined, 319-20. Councils, 4, 16, 18-19, 23, 24, 26, 27, 148, 149, 154, 180, 451, 499; consultas, 11, 13; royal cédulas, orders, and decrees, 24 n, 28 n, 83, 85, 95, 107, 110, 146, 266, 273-4, 274 n, 288, 288 n, 290, 294, 294 n, 295, 295 n, 457, 464, 537; Cortés, 157-8, 165 n; codes used in, 530, 542; early attitude toward Roman law in, 535; Gratian studied in, 540. Treasury, dependent on Amer., 287; navy, 287, 293, 304, 305, 307, 313; army, 287; junta de guerra, 297. Intendancies created in, 19 (*see also* Intendancies); audiencias in, 149 (*see also* Audiencias); Alcaldes in, 449; govt. of villas and pueblos, 449. Political and econ. status, 6, 11, 157, 287, 300; misrule emphasized in rept., 52; not always prudent, 53; impotent, 69; leaders in, proclaim moral equality, 145; ruled by ethical principles, 146; govt. characterized, 159; chaotic, 174; policy during Amer. Rev., direct, 265; power declines, 300; evolves centralized monarchical govt., 317; political dominates spiritual in, 317; central govt. weakens, 418; title passes from to former colonies, 473. Royal patronage of, 154, 155, 161, 165 n, 318-19. Amer. colonies—revolt threatened and breaks out, 31, 82, 421 (*see also* Revolutions); cannot reconquer United Provinces, 48; colonial govt. described, 53; final liberation foretold, 71; considers La. key to possessions, 73; oppresses colonies, 84; La. ceded to, 87, 265; gives its best scholastic models to, 111; Yucatan breaks with, 132; law prefers Amer. to Span. for positions in, 148; creates Span. govt. forms in, 149; anxious to retain political authority in, 155; loses colonies, 156; refuses to recognize their independence, 157-8; Colombia compared to, 167; Mex. *id.*, 196; cedes Florida, 265; projects of, rdg., Floridas, 265-85; cession of Floridas to, proposed by Anglo-Amer. colonies, 275, 275 n, 276, 276 n, 421, 422; proposal to cede E. Fla. to, 279; has no agree-

ment with Eng. colonies, 275; may indemnify them for capture of Floridas, 276; Span. policy of colonization, 286; neglects defense of Amer., 287; stiffens its resistance in Indies, 292; plans to regain Jamaica, 298; needs no defensive Caribbean policy, 302; its occidental empire, 303; importance of Havana to, 308, 313; Mex. independent of, 321; govt. of, mild in E. Fla., 417; E. Fla. prosperous under, 417-18, 424; has no sovereignty in Falklands, 481, 482; colonial empire disintegrates, 546.

Has inadequate facilities, 3; resources dwindle, 293; *casade contratación*, 4-5, 19; efforts to create trading companies, 1-30; no chartered companies in, 3; trade ordinances, 3-4; economic bodies in, 4-5; com'l monopolies, 5; the *consulado*, 5, 18; gold flows through, 8; residents of, may join trading co., 8; econ. reforms needed in, 11; seeks com'l advantages, 12; govt. relative to com., 13; companies formed for, 14; advised that trade in, be free, 14; Flemish trade detrimental to, 16; industries in, encouraged, 19; trading companies requested for, 20; run danger of losing trade of Indies, 20; trade with Peru fails, 21; Peruvians will buy from, 22; crown shares in shipping ventures, 24; French meet prices of, 27; rehabilitation of, proposed, 29; trading companies will not benefit, 29; lacks mfres., 29; gold, etc., sent to, 177; Haro represents Fuggers in, 185; revenues not greatly endangered, 287; econ. deterioration, 293.

Relations with other countries, institutions, and peoples: excludes foreigners from Indies, 14 n; foreign houses have agts. in, 181; ousts foreigners from various islands, 299. Relations with Dutch and Flemish, 7, 16, 301. With France—Napoleon invades, 31;

influenced by Fr. ideas, 60; Fr. writers read in, 61; Fr. in, 61 n; Fr. ideas create struggle against, 65; attitude of Fr. toward, 67, 70, 89; French plan to liberate terr. of, 71; hostilities with France, 74, 76, 88, 90, 96; France asks U. S. aid against, 76; complains of Genêt, 79; French enter service of, 87; dangerous French to be sent to, from colonies, 95; allied with France, 96, 98; France acts for, 267 n; makes treaty with, 291, 301; treaty delayed, 301. With Anglo-Amer. colonies and U. S.—mutual attitude, 36, 40, 77, 276 n, 277 n, 279; Clark hostile to, 76; U. S. com'rs in, 77; suggestion of Anglo-Amer. colonies rdg. Pensacola, 267; authorizes aid for Anglo-Amer., 267-8; grants aid, 267 n, 268 n; hopes to benefit from attack on W. Fla. by Anglo-Amer., 268; Jay sent to, 275; Anglo-Amer. willing to guarantee possession of Floridas, 275-6; attitude of Cong. toward, 278; injures U. S., 425; U. S. will pay debt of, in Fla., 425; peace betw., 444. With Eng.—hostilities betw., 66, 67, 98, 274 n, 280, 297, 303, 305, 496; attempts to gain info. rdg. Eng. colonies, 266 n; attitude toward Eng. colonies, 267; peace betw., 298; Eng. makes secret treaty with France about, 365; returns colony to Brit., 481. Miranda's proposal against, 66. With papacy—problems betw., arise, 154; mutual attitude, 156, 157, 172-3; nuncio expelled from, 157; fate of church in, feared, 157; papal negotiations with, 162; refuses papal suggestion, 162; protests papal apptmts., 162; embassy in Rome, 165, 170; dilatory in eccles. affairs, 165 n; nuncio refused admittance to, 170; Pius VIII. favors, 171; Alexander VI. arbiter for, 212; papal docs. returned to, 499; *see also above* Royal Patronage. Germany and Italy have branch banks in, 181; at

war with Portugal, 297; refuses advice of holy allies, 169.

Miscellaneous: manner of waging war, 10; internal troubles in, 23; ship returning to, 28; effect of Family Compact on, 67; complains of rev'n'y activities, 78; Fr. rev. creates trouble for, 83; Yucatan considers requesting aid from, 139; moral equality in, 145; founds societies, 148; refuses advice of holy allies, 169; Velásquez sends agt. to, 177, 180; Cortés's ship reaches, 178; news of Garay's exped. reaches, 179; acct. of Cortes's exped. sent to, 179; Charles V. returns to, 180; early printing in, 180; news sheets published in, 181; treasures from Indies create sensation in, 182; Ordaz in, 184; Ind. send gold and representation to, 195; Mohammedan heresy in, 203; Columbus sails from, 203; Alex. VI. arbitrates for, 212; cards sent to by Lib'y of Cong., 245; humiliated, 265; neutral, 266; can act as trustee, 272; reinforcements from, not to be awaited, 274; erroneous belief in, 275; has no agreement with Eng. colonies, 275; enters war alone, 279; reaction rdg. Caribbean, 286-302; neglects defense of Amer., 287, 289; uses spy system, 288; ships convoyed to, 293 (*see also* Ships); defeat of Great Armada, 293; colonial ships held in, 297; its windward squadron, 298 n; unable to consolidate gains, 299; buccaneers attack, 301; cut off from treasures, 304; colors, captured, 305; defeat called an act of God, 311; did not initiate struggle betw. state and church, 317; will liberate slaves in Cuba, 365. T. de Croix returns to, 491; weapons sent back to, 495; deposed intendant sent to, 497; Croix aids empire, 504; his services to, 504; Amer. Lib'y desired in, 517-18; Gra-

tian read in, 540. *See also* the several former Spanish colonies; and Spaniards.

Spaniards: engage in smuggling, 6; act as agts. for foreigners, 9; trade privileges asked for, 16; may join trading co., 20, 21; foreigners might substitute for, 25; their temperament not adaptable to losses, 29; Paris appeals to, 60; complain of Genêt, 79; dislike French, 87; revolutionary, to be arrested, 94; French who marry, free from arrest, 94; Span. Amer. preferred to, for official jobs, 148; creoles not equal to, 148; Ind. hostile to, 179, 187, 188, 191; Ind. submit to, 190; relations with Seminoles, 441; discover Yucatan, 198; go to Mizella, 201; Amer. colonies try to buy supplies from, 266; attitude toward, and relations with Eng., 268, 270, 273, 278-9, 280, 295, 309 n, 434; protect Willing, 269-70; prepare for war, 273; coöperation with Anglo-Amer., planned, 278-9; prepare exped. against W. Fla., 280; campaign against Mississippi forts, 280; characterized, 289; in ships' crews, 291 n; South Carolina need fear, no longer, 314; Jamaica fears, 315; struggle with Moors, 317; introduce Span. forms into Mex., 324; in E. Fla., 417; Brit. ships prevented from aiding, 434; attack Fort Moosa, 438, 440; their name for Falklands, 471; advisable to have, in Peru, 500; intendants live in towns of, 502.

Spanish Royal Academy: grants prize to Wast, 117.

Sparrows: Aztecs make artificial, 209.

Spell, Dr. Lota M.: heads research bureau, 247.

Spices: in cargo, 21; gathered in orient, 212.

Spies: Span., 85, 288 n; Span. employ, 288; trail Clayton, 368.

- State: struggle betw., and church, in Mex., 317-60; declared independent of church, 321 n; limitations, 341.
- Stephens, John L.: cited, 133 n.
- Stevenson, Dr. Edward L.: notice, 248.
- Stewart, Watt: article by, 31-59.
- Stiell, Lt. Col. ———: letter by, cited, 269 n.
- Stiles, Pres. Ezra: Miranda visits, 60, 63.
- Stille, Charles Janeway: cited, 37 n.
- Stimson, Henry L.: book reviewed, 99-103.
- Stock: in trading co., 9, 17.
- Stockholders: lose money, 28.
- Stone: idols made of, 197, 207; houses built of, 198.
- Storehouses: for trade, 18.
- Straits: of Magellan, 471.
- Strawberries: in Mex., 199.
- Strawn, Arthur: book reviewed, 106.
- Streets: regulations, 460; corregidor maintains, 462; paved, in Lima, 495.
- Strictures of a Voyage*: cited, 55 n.
- Strong, Capt. ———: names Falklands, 471.
- Stubbs, William: cited, 530 n, 537 n.
- Students: number in San Marcos, 109; requirements strict, 109; form district class in Peru, 110.
- Subscriptions: private, in Span. colonies, 295.
- Subsidies: granted by govt., 3; desired, 275 n; furnished by Peru, 496-7.
- Sugar: trade in Hispaniola, 15; aguardiente made from cane, 27; imported into Peru, 493.
- Sullivan, Mrs. Maud: rept. by, 516-20.
- Sumner, Charles: Lamar's speech on, cited, 524.
- Sumter, Thomas (U. S. agt. in Brazil): entertains com'n, 44.
- Sun Worshipers: pope fears, 157; threaten church, 165 n.
- Superstitions: Mex. have, 322.
- Supplies: Spain fails to furnish to col., 5-6; passengers provide, 43 n, 48 n; Spain seeks, 193; furnished in Cuba, 177; mil. desired from Span., 266; Willing seizes, 269 n; Gálvez promises to Anglo-Amer., 270; furnished at Juan Fernández, 497.
- Sweden: Fr. alliance with, advocated, 69.
- Sweet, William Warner: book reviewed, 505-7.
- Swiss: many in Amer., 167.
- Sword: Croix breaks, 503.
- Sydnor, Charles S.: doc. contributed by, 364-8.
- Sylvain, ———: cited, 173 n.
- Synod: called for Mex. City, 358.
- Syria: early trade in, 1.
- T**ABASCO, Mex.: smuggling in, 136, 137; U. S. occupies, 137.
- Tacna-Arica: dispute rdg., important, 522.
- Tagle, Gregorio (sec'y of state in B. A.): receives com'n, 44.
- Tampico, Mex.: U. S. levies no duties in, 136.
- Tapestries: feather, 210.
- Tariff: "increased in Yucatan, 132; heavy, 136.
- Tarma Province, Peru: exposed to Ind. attacks, 493; eccles. removed from, 498.
- Tate, William: organizes expd. against Fla., 78; needs funds, 80.
- Taxes and Taxation: sales, 25; protested, 26; students exempt from, 110; alcabala introduced into Yucatan, 132; attempt to collect from Yucatan Ind., 138; Hancock opposed to arbitrary, 143; Span. colonies pay, 296; corregidor exempt from, 467; Falklands exempt from, 473; other exemptions, 110, 502.
- Tejada, Ignacio de (Colombian agt. in Rome): first great Span. Amer. diplomat to papacy, 165; changes papal opinion, 167; reaches Rome, 167; de-

- scribes his mission, 167; goes to Florence, 168; invited to Rome, 168, 169; agt. for New Granada, 174; rec'd as chargé at Rome, 174-5; characterized and described, 167, 167 n.
- Temples: in Mex., 199, 206, 207.
- Tenustitan, Mex.: early account, 184 (*see also* Mexico City).
- Tepyaca, Mex.: Cortés in, 179, 184.
- Teuenitan, Mex.: location, 211. *See also* Mexico City.
- Texas: Fr. in 95; Mexico's war with, 132; Yucatan negotiates with, 133; Gutiérrez-Magee exped. into, 415; Long in, 416; firearms sold to Ind. in, 490; Span. in, 538.
- Texas Research Bureau: notice, 247.
- Textiles: mfrs. of, can participate in trading company, 20; sold in Caracas, 28; uses, 195, 198, 200, 202; in illicit trade, 418; flourishing trade in, 444. Various—cotton, 198, 200, 202, 418, 432, 444; silk, 20, 195; velvet, 195; wool, 20.
- Thanksgiving: gov. of Mass. proclaims, 312.
- Theaters: restrictions, 456.
- Thomas, A. B.: granted exchange fellowship, 528.
- Ticknor, George: tradition left by, 545.
- Tierra Firme: Span. reach, 204; Span. fleet for, 292; Maese Joan at, 370; shipping to, 20.
- Tigers: in Mex., 196, 207.
- Timber: in cargo, 269, 269 n.
- Tithes: in Chile conceded to govt., 163-4; proposal rdg., 332.
- Tlascala (Dastalcheka, Tascalteca); Mex.: size, 205; hostile to Cortés, 205; compared to Granada, 205.
- Tobacco: in cargo, 21; cultivated in Venezuela, 294.
- Toledo, Spain: Cortés at, 537.
- Tonalá, province in Mex.: Grijalva along coast of, 177.
- Tools: Ind., 362; bones used as, 372; Ind. demand hatchets, 370.
- Tordesillas, Spain: Ind. baptised at, 363. Torre, ———: letter by, cited, 366 n.
- Torres y Lanzas, Pedro: book reviewed, 512-13.
- Tortoise: bones used as tools, 372.
- Torture: applied to captured crew, 286.
- Towers: watch, built, 374.
- Towns: nature of Span., 151; Ind. in Mex. described, 185; Span. fortified, 295.
- Tracts: rdg. Cortés, described, 182-6.
- Trade. *See* Commerce and Trade.
- Traders: change in status, 2; have special privileges, 20; Fr. as, 88; disregard Span. regulations, 265; status of Eng., 286-7; buccaneers have status of, 287.
- Trading Companies. *See* Commerce and Trade; *and* Companies.
- Traditions: religious leaders make, 146; in new democratic states, 153.
- Transcripts: how arranged in Lib'y of Cong., 244-7. *See also* Archives; Libraries; *and* Manuscripts.
- Treasury: security of royal improved, 502.
- Treaties: U. S. repudiates, 36; diminish danger of rev'n in Amer., 82; Trist negotiates, 138; reported betw. Yucatan and Ind., 141; Havana a good asset in making, 308; rumored, 365-6; com'l desired with B. A., 478. Betw. various countries—Eng.-Spain (1630), 11; French-Eng. (1586), 15; Spain-U. S., 82; Mex.-Yucatan (1843), 133, 134; Span. in XVII. cent., 300; American (1670), 300-1; secret betw. Fr., Eng., and Spain, 365; Haiti-Dom. Rep., 385; U. S.-Eng. (1783), 484. Named—Ghent, 38 n; Jay's, 82; San Lorenzo (1795), 82; Basle (1795), 82, 96, 98; Guadalupe-Hidalgo, 138; Cór-

- dova, 156; Paris (1763), 269; Cateau-Cambresis (1559), 291; Vervins (1598), 293 n; London (1604—5), 293 n; Munster (1648), 300; Mimguen (1678—9), 301; Utrecht (1713), 483.
- Trees: strange in Mex., 207. *See also* Timber.
- Tribunals: created in colonies, 149; mining establ. in Peru, 495; the *consulado*, 498.
- Tribute: mestizos not subject to, 147; Ind. pay, 211; announced by crier, 467; minors pay, 467; corregidores do not pay, 467.
- Trist, Nicholas P. (peace com'r in Mex.): Rovira writes, 136-7; negotiates treaty, 138.
- Troncoso de la Concha, Fr. J.: negotiates treaty, 385.
- Truces: betw. Spain and Netherlands, 293, 294; Antwerp (1609), 293 n; flags of, 431; fort attacked during, 440.
- Trustees: Spain can act as, 272.
- Truxillo, Peru: complaints by, 493; farmers of, need slaves, 494; election of abess at, 499; nuns in, quarrel with intendant, 501.
- Tucuman, Argentina: cong., 156 n.
- Turks: furnish early news items, 180.
- Turner, Frederick J.: cited, 77 n, 79 n, 81 n.
- Turtle-doves: in Mex., 196.
- Turtle eggs: used as food, 374, 375.
- Tuscany, Italy: Amer. agts. sent to, 275 n.
- U**GARTE, Gaspar de (eccles): removed, 498.
- Ulloa, Antonio de: cited, 467-8, 468 n, 469, 470 n.
- Ultramontanists: theory held by, 155. *See also* Canonists.
- United Provinces of Rio de la Plata: viceroyalty of Buenos Aires called, 34 n. *See also* the following caption.
- United Provinces of South America (*see also* preceding caption): viceroyalty of Buenos Aires called, 34 n; sends Aguirre to U. S., 34; first U. S. minister to, 39 n; dictator of, 44; dissensions in, 45; conditions in, investigated, 46; conditions unsettled, 47-8; Spain out of, for good, 48; religious intolerance in, passing, 48; Rodney gives resources of 51; separatist tendencies in, discussed, 52; Bland reports on, 52; Poinsett advises recognition, 53; Clay proposes minister for, 58; takes possession of Falklands, 472. *See also* Buenos Aires.
- United States of North America: Govt.—Constitution, 543; a model for S. A., 47; pres., 41, 57 n, 58, 77, 420; cabinet meetings, 32-3, 33 n, 57, 140; cong., 34, 38, 57, 57 n, 58, 59, 140, 419, 421, 442; senate, 136, 141, 442; sen. docs. cited, 136 n, 137 n, 139 n, 140 n, 141 n, 142 n, 143 n, 417 n, 418 n, 423 n, 424 n, 425 n, 426 n, 427 n, 428 n, 429 n, 430 n, 431 n, 432 n, 433 n, 434 n, 435 n, 436 n, 440 n, 441 n, 442 n, 443 n, 444 n, 478 n, 486 n; house of rep., 442; House Journal, cited, 57 n; supreme court, 424; dept. of state, 39, 138 n, 365, 367, 422 n, 477, 478; diplomatic correspondence, cited, 33 n, 37 n, 39 n, 40 n, 43 n, 44 n, 46 n, 48 n, 49 n, 51 n; MSS. of, 422 n, 444 n; sec'y of state, 421; ministers, 41. Relation, etc. in S. A.—how S. A. rev'n viewed in, 33, 41, 45, 53, 56; Clay rallies sentiment rdg., 33-4; Aguirre sent to, 34; has agts. in S. A., 34; accused of indifference 35; repudiates treaty 36; desires to delay change in S. A. policy, 36; Monroe fears to recognize, 36; rumor of recognition, 44; influences for recognition, 56; recognition, 56-7; Adams returns

to, 36; sends com'n to S. A., 36 n; it returns to, 49; influence of com'n on, 59; first minister from, to Buenos Aires, 39 n; neutrality in, 40, 56; agts. of, in Span. colonies, 41; effect of, on S. A., 55; status quo recommended, 57; aid for S. A., considered in, 68; has good field in S. A., 523; prestige in S. A., 524; accusations against in S. A., 524-5; many friends of S. A., in, 525. Mex. and Yucatan—war with Mex. threatened, 134; war with Mex., 135; blockades Yucatan ports, 135, 137, 140 n; Yucatee com'n sent to, 135; Bovira admires, 136; occupies Tabasco, 137; Sierra O'Reilly sent to, 137; Yucatan desires annexation to, 138; Yucatan asks aid from, 139; private aid sent to Yucatan, 142; makes peace with Mex., 142; refuses to send troops to Yucatan, 142; attitude toward Mex., 356; librarians of, visit Mex., 516; lib'y exchange with, 517. Influence in Hisp. Amer., 145; sentiment for annexation of Cuba, 364-5; neutrality laws enforced, 365, 367; danger to, if slaves in Cuba freed, 366; value of investments in Hisp. Amer., 389; filibustering exped. equipped in, 415; expansionist movement, 415, 416; occupies Florida, 416; people go from, to E. Fla., 417; privateers fitted out in, 418; Folch offers to transfer W. Fla. to, 419; claims W. Fla., 422, 425; acquires W. Fla., 419; secret message rdg. Floridas, 419, 420; opposition to cession of Fla. to, 423; trades at Fernandina, 424; reason for desiring Fla., 425; surrounds E. Fla., 425 n; mil. aid promised Mathews, 426; Mathews claims to act for, 427, 438; forces of, expected to join revolutionists, 428, 429; Mathews occupies terr. in name of, 429; "patriots" under protection of, 431; guarantees natural rights, 431; Amelia Island

promised protection of, 431 n; forces of, do not act in name of, 432-3; López offers to surrender to, 435; Amelia Island to be ceded to, 435; troops of, march through Fla., 437; Fla. to be ceded to, 437; E. Fla. offered to, 437; Col. Smith technically in, 438; disclaims responsibility for Mathews's invasion, 440-1; Kindelan demands withdrawal of troops of, 441; withdrawn, 443-444. Buenos Aires friendly to, 46; dispute with Argentina rdg., Falklands, 471-87; ships seized, 474, 479; has no diplomatic representative at Buenos Aires, 475; demands surrender of Vernet, 476; defends fishing rights, 476-7, 481-2, 483; ship of, at Falklands, 477; demands disavowal of Vernet's acts, 478; has no claim to Falklands, 483; relations with Argentina broken, 486-7. Apts. national bibliog'l com'n, 519; its shipping facilities increased, 523; investments in Hisp. Amer., 523-4; fellowships created for, 527. Europe hostile to, 36; attitude toward Spain, 40, 77, 444; sends com'rs to Spain, 77; negotiates with, for trade dépôt, 77-8; filibustering against Spain, from, 445; *Partidas*, basic law in parts of, 537; acquires terr. from, 538. Hypothecal French com'n in, 56 n; Fr. seek asylum in, 62; Fr. attitude toward, 69; attitude toward Fr., 356; Fr. alliance with, sought, 69; Fr. minister to, 71; not to be asked to aid France, 72; France hopes to separate western states from, 72; Genêt plans to get support of, 75; G. holds out possession of Canada and Fla. to, 75, 77; France asks aid against Spain, 76; activities of Fr. rev'y agts. in, checked, 78; Genêt violates neutrality, 79, 81; G. remains in, 79; La. urged to form alliance with, 80; French minister in, 96 (*see also* France). Makes treaty with Eng., 82,

- 483, 484; war with threatened, 435-6; war with Eng., 445 (*see also* Wars). Prot. propaganda from, feared in Rome, 168; bibliog'y well developed in, 251; civil war in, 322; impartial, 365; cotton of, traded illicitly, 418; com. restricted in, 435; sealskins sold in, 474.
- United States Statutes at Large*: cited, 420 n, 421 n.
- United States vs Ferreira*: cited, 417 n, 418 n, 430 n, 432 n, 434 n, 435 n, 436 n, 437 n.
- Universities. *See* Colleges and Universities.
- Unzaga, Luis de (gov. of La.): Anglo-Amer. confer with, 266-7; his attitude toward Amer. exped., 267; royal orders to, 267; letter by, cited, 267 n; letter to, cited, 267 n.
- Urriza, Juan Ignacio (Span. official): member of conference, 283 n.
- Uruguay: appts. national bibliographical com'n, 519.
- Ustariz, G. de: cited, 29 n.
- Usury: corregidor must prevent, 456.
- V**ALDES, ——— (gov. of Cuba): forms fleet, 294.
- Valdivia (Chilean province): Croix promotes good roads in, 494; Peru furnishes subsidy for, 496-7; bishop robbed on way to, 499; disturbed, 499.
- Valenzuela, ———: cited, 64 n, 90 n, 91 n, 92, 92 n.
- Valladolid (Valdeila), Spain: foreign news printed in, 180, 182, 184; papal nuncio in, 182; letter written in, 185; Mex. articles in, 209; Charles V. in, 362.
- Valparaiso, Chile: Bland leaves, 49; Cienfuegos leaves, 161; Muzi leaves, 164.
- Vance, John T., Jr., promises aid, 255; bibliographical activities, 410; report by, 516-20.
- Vandermeulen, Juan (Flemish official): associated with Fonseca, 19.
- Van Hoesen, Henry Bartlett: book reviewed, 236-7.
- Vara, Juan: arrested as revolutionist, 91; report of petition, cited, 91 n.
- Vargas, ——— (Span. ambassador in Rome): instructions to, 165-6; diplomatic activities, 166; protests reception of Tejada, 167; objects to his residence in Bologna, 168; protests coming of Vázquez, 168-9; Gómez compared to, 170.
- Vatican: political question confronts, 154; does not control eccles. affairs in Indies, 154-5; Chilean attitude toward, 164; Mex. petitions, 165; justice for Maximilian sought from, 323. *See also* Papacy; Pope; *and* Rome.
- Vázquez, Francisco Pablo: Mex. agt. to Rome, 164 n, 168, 172 n; invited to Rome, 169; refuses papal invitation, 169; enters Rome, 172; becomes bishop of Puebla, 174; cited, 167 n.
- Vegetables: bartered, 177; corregidor inspects, 462.
- Velásquez (Vilasto), Diego (gov. of Cuba): despatches Grijalva, 176; Grijalva sends rept. to, 177; places Cortés in command of exped., 177, 189; Cortés charged with disloyalty to, 180; has powerful friends at court, 180; discoveries by, 204.
- Velásquez de León, ———: launches monarchical movement in Mex., 322-3; member of com'n, 344.
- Velázquez Bringas, Esperanza (Mex. official): book reviewed, 105-6.
- Velvet: clothing made of, 195.
- Venables, ——— (Brit. officer): Span. defeat (1654), 298.
- Venetians: form trading communities, 1.
- Venezuela: captaincy gen. created in, 151; constitution, 155 n-156 n; direct communication with papacy illegal, 155 n-156 n; decree by, 388. Shipping

- to, 20; conditions in, bad, 30; Peñalver returns to, 159; people good Cath., 159; tobacco cultivated in, 294.
- Venice, Italy: declines in importance, 2; Mex. City resembles, 179; publications at, 541.
- Vera Vruz, Mex.: Grijalva at site of, 176; Cortés at, 177; location of old city, 178; Garay's ships near, 178, 179; Cortés writes from, 184; erected into city, 196; Span. exped. at, 199; Cortés leaves, 201 n. Flota at, 4; trade center, 8; commerce at, 28; playing cards in, 64; proposed as revolutionary center, 84; gov. of, instructed by viceroy, 85; French deported from, 96; Moore patrols near, 133-4; duties not levied in, by U. S., 136; regimiento writes from, 179, 182; Maximilian at, 325; Meglia at, 328.
- Vergara, José: member of politico-religious mission, 158-9; at London, 159; sends mem'l to pope, 159; error to commission, 160.
- Verhagen, ———: names Falklands, 471.
- Vernet, Louis (Frenchman naturalized at Buenos Aires): his career in Falklands, 472-87, *passim*; Falklands ceded to, 473; warns U. S. ship, 474; agreement made by, 475; orders seizure of U. S. ships, 476; his surrender requested, 476; his colony destroyed, 476-7; made gov. of colony, 479; charges against, 480, 481, 482.
- Viar, José (Josef) Ignacio (Ygnacio; Span. representative in U. S.): substantiates Hammond's rept., 86; cited, 97.
- Vicente, Juan: cited, 64-65, 65 n.
- Viceroy: powers, 150-1, 450; corregidor ranks with, 446; power decreased, 497, 500-1.
- Victoria, Francisco (Span. theologian): recent studies on, 145; his ideas continued, 146, 147.
- Vienna, Austria: Amer. agts. sent to, 275 n; customs of, bro't to Mex., 353.
- Vilasto, Diego. *See* Velásquez, Diego.
- Villa de Ica, Peru: king appoints corregidores for, 450.
- Villa de Santiago, Peru: king appoints corregidor for, 450; his salary, 463.
- Villadiego Vascuña y Montoya, Alonso de: cited, 451 n, 452 n, 453 n, 454 n, 455 n, 456 n, 457 n, 458 n, 459 n, 460 n, 461 n, 462 n, 463 n, 464 n, 465 n.
- Villanueva, Carlos A.: cited, 68 n, 69 n, 71 n, 81 n, 159 n, 168 n, 169 n.
- Villalva, Victoriano: continues Victoria's ideals, 147.
- Villas: corregidores inspect, 457.
- Villebeuvre, Jean de: reports reach, 272; letters to, cited, 272 n.
- Virginia: Graham from, 39; gen'l cong., 266; Pollock agt. for, 267 n.
- Visigoths: law among, 541.
- Vitoe Valley, S. A.: repop., 493.
- Volney, M. ———: mentioned in edict, 62.
- Voltaire, François Marie Arouet: read in Spain, 61; Volney compared to, 62.
- Voltaireans: Span. attitude toward, 61.
- Votes: value of corregidor's, 460.
- W**AGELANUS. *See* Magellan.
- Wages. *See* Salaries and Wages.
- Wagner, Henry R.: contributes docs., 176-212, 361-3; introduction by, 361; correction rdg. contribution, 384.
- Walloon Guards: Croix, a capt. of, 488.
- Walpole, Horace: cited, 306, 306 n, 307 n, 309 n.
- Walter, Frank Keller: book reviewed, 236-7.
- Warehouses: held jointly, 1; casa de contratación owns, 5.
- Wars: commerce fosters, 3; commerce during, 21; slaves not affected by, 25; recognition no just cause for, 53; revolutionary plans dependent on, 67;

- boards, 271, 272; buccaneers in, 287. Span.-Eng. threatened, 66; maritime threatens Eng., 69; French, with Eng. and Span. threatened, 70, 71; Gálvez favors with Eng., 268; preparations for, secret, 274; Span. declare, 273, 273 n; not declared, 280; constant, in Europe, 286; Span. ends, 293; betw. U. S. and Spain urged, 366; betw. U. S. and Gt. Brit. threatened, 435-6. Instances—1812, 33, 38 n, 418, 442, 445; Indian, 78 n, 200, 441; Mex., for independence, 87; Span.-French, 88, 291; U. S.-Mex., 135; revolutionary, in South Amer., 176 (*see also* Revolutions), civil, in Peru, 146; Amer. revol., 267 n; Span.-Brit., 273, 274 n, 496; civil, in U. S., 322; Patriot, in East Florida, 427 n; Argentine-Brazil, 473; World, 523.
- Washington, D. C.: commissioners in, 50, 135; Brackenridge's book pub. in, 54; Mathews starts for, 439; important research center, 546, 550.
- Washington, George: proclaims neutrality, 77; spoils Genêt's aims, 77-8; his cabinet not responsive to Genêt, 78-9; requests recall of Genêt, 79; conference with planned, 277; letters to, and by, cited, 36 n, 277, 278 n, 279, 279 n.
- Wast, Hugo (pseudonym for Gustavo Martínez Zuviría (*q. v.*)).
- Waste: corregidor disposes of, 462.
- Water rights: *Partidas* governs, 538.
- Wax: Ind. use, 198; much in Mex., 200.
- Weapons: Span. settlements lack, 289; various classes not allowed to carry, 495; bows and arrows, 370, 371; arquebuser, 371. *See also* Arms; Ammunition; Cannons; Firearms; and Gunpowder.
- Webster, Daniel: cited, 485.
- Weights and Measures: Ind. possess, 198; used by Aztecs, 200, 210, 210 n. Fanegas, 28; *Legua*, defined, 203; quintal, 267 n; arroba, 288 n.
- West, Elizabeth Howard: rept. by, 516-20.
- West, Sebold de: names Falklands, 471.
- West Baden, Ind.: conference at, 516, 519.
- Whale: fisheries near Falklands, 486.
- Wharton, ———: cited 276 n, 277 n.
- Wharves: enlarged at Callão, 494.
- Wheels: of gold and silver given to Cortés, 177, 179-80, 182, 200.
- Whitaker, Arthur P.: has exchange fellowship, 527-8.
- White *v.* Gay's Examiners: cited, 538 n.
- White, Enrique (Eng. gov. in the Floridas): Mathews proposes to visit, 424, 424 n.
- White, Henry: visits South Amer., 523.
- White, John R.: book reviewed, 514-15.
- Widows: special court attention given to, 458; laws rdg. 540.
- Wilgus, A. Curtis: reviews books, 213-14, 215-17, 510-11; bibliographical article by, 254-7; member of advisory committee, 255; certain data to be sent to, 263.
- Wilkinson, Gen. James: characterized, 72.
- Willard, ———: cited, 538 n.
- Williams, Col. ———: leads militia against Ind., 442.
- Williams, Mary Wilhemine: article by, 132-43; participates in hist. series, 258; reviews book, 379-81.
- Williamson, J. A.: cited, 294 n.
- Willing, James: receives Span. protection, 269-70, 272; Gálvez negotiates with, 272; Anglo-Amer. bring supplies to, 273; sketch, 269 n.
- Wine: company shares in, 21; in cargo, 27; Ind. make, 198, 209; a food, 462; corregidores deal in, 466.
- Winston, George B.: book reviewed, 104-5.
- Wollstonecroft, Mary: meets with Paine, 73.

Women: starving in Yucatan, 140. *See also* Indians.

Wood: idols made of, 197, 207.

Wood: regulations rdg., 20.

Worship: regulations gov., 347.

Wright, Miss Irene A.: transcripts made by, 244; prepares list of MSS., 246 n; promises aid, 255; notice, 247-8; cited, 294 n, 298 n.

Wyke, Sir Charles: gives suggestion to Maximilian, 325-6.

Wylls, Rufus Kay: article by, 415-45.

XIMENEZ, José: associate of Malvert, 90 n.

YANEX (Yangués) Pinzón, Vicente (Vincentius): explorations, 188, 188 n.

Yonge, Philip P.: rept. cited, 429 n, 430 n, 434 n, 435 n.

York, Earl of: letter to, cited, 66 n.

Yorke, Joseph: letter by, cited, 308, 308 n.

Yorkshire, Eng.: Amer. colonists compared to people of, 311.

Yucatan, (Cathan; Iucatan), Mex.: Córdoba discovery, 176, 204; called an island, 192; called Karolana, 362; location, 136, 362; civilization in, 176; Córdoba in, 187; a wonderful country, 187; early news of, 198-202; native govt. in, 198; fortified, 295. Secessionist diplomacy in, 132-43; people, separatist, 132; local patriotism in, strong, 132; receives more political autonomy than other parts of Mex., 132; mercantile element dominates, 132; Mex. govt. encroaches on, 132; alcabala introduced into, 132; conscription in, 132; people of, not in revolt, 132 n; two political factions in, 133; declares independence and forms republic, 133; forms connection with Texas, 133; legislature in, 133; fears Mex. invasion,

133; Santa Anna sends army to, 134; Mex. defeated in, 134; refuses to re-enter Mex. union, 134; dictates treaty with Mex., 134; joins Mex., 134, 143; factional strife in, 135; U. S. prohibits trade from, with Mex., 135; Mendez faction in, neutral, 135; union with U. S. desired, 136, 138; U. S. occupation of, desired, 141; does not come under Monroe Doctrine, 141; U. S. regiment formed for, 142 n; Brit. said to desire, 137-8; Brit. do not desire, 141; sovereignty offered to various nations, 139; wishes to become French colony, 140 n; condition of treasury, 134, 142 n. Decree issued by, 134; Mendez elected gov., 136; imports firearms, 137; Ind. war in, 138; not considered in treaty, 138; Mayas threaten, 138-9; condition of whites in, 139; famine in, 139-40; Pres. Herrera aids, 142; caste war in, 142.

Yucatecs (inhab. of Yucatan): some in Mexico, 142 (*see also* Yucatan).

ZACATECAS (Nuestra Señora de Zacatecas), Mex.: bishop of, signs memorial, 337; corregidores app. for, 450. Zamacois, Niceto de (Mex. historian): cited, 97 n.

Zambos: not allowed to carry weapons, 495.

Zanzibar, Africa: com'l ventures in, 2.

Zavala, Lorenzo de: cited, 168 n, 170 n, 172 n.

Zea, Francisco Antonio: Bolívar sends to Europe, 159; neglects eccles. mission, 159; note returned to, 159-60; an error to commission, 160.

Zemes: Caribs worship, 199 n.

Zuazo, Alonso: letter, cited, 185.

Zubieta, Pedro A.: cited, 159 n, 160 n, 168 n, 169 n, 174 n.

Zuny: Ind. invoke, 199.

